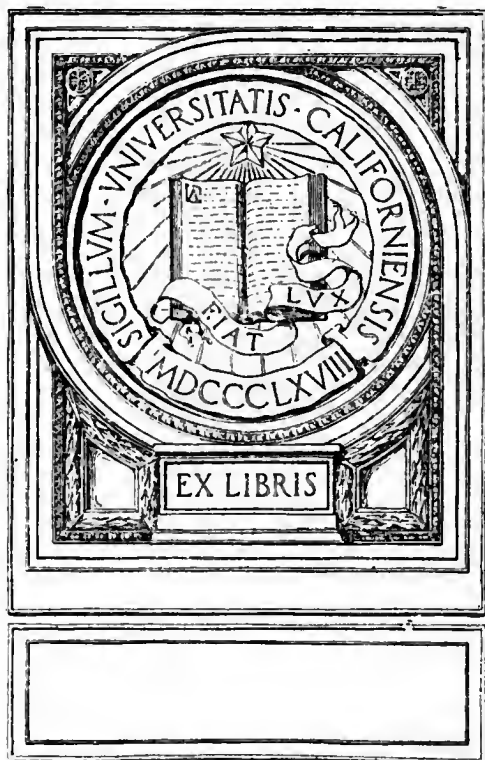


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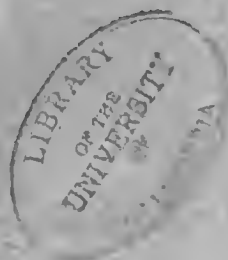
ADULT EDUCATION

(University extra-mural teaching in England and Wales.)

BY

J. P. BULKELEY, M.A.,

(Indian Educational Service.)



CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
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PREFACE.

This timely and suggestive report will stimulate and help all who wish to participate in the political and economic evolution of India. In a country committed to progressive responsible government the organisation of all resources available within and without our schools and colleges for the equipment of effective citizens becomes an imperative necessity.

The analysis of the various agencies available for Adult Education in the United Kingdom and the value of their respective contributions will be found particularly helpful. Some of these agencies are inspired primarily by economic or political motives. Educational work inspired by a practical aim and based on deep convictions is usually effective but has its attendant risks. Special attention is therefore rightly drawn to the part played by Universities. Their academic outlook, reverence for truth and insistence on scientific method have sobered and elevated the movement while their co-operation with labour and trade unions has enabled such bodies as the Workers' Educational Association to accomplish work rising far above the level of mere political propaganda. And when such co-operation has been lacking racial feeling and economic bitterness have been accentuated.

The profit has not been all on one side. Universities have been brought into touch with the outside world and are no longer charged with selfish and exclusive culture. And history teaches us that institutions which are not constantly extending their activities to the proselytes at their gates are specially prone to stagnation and decay.

Whether the State should accept direct responsibility for this type of education may remain an open question even after perusal of this report. But no reader will be disposed to deny its responsibility for drawing attention to the importance and magnitude of the subject, for periodic stock-taking and for obtaining and circulating expert advice and the latest information.

The fact that a large portion of the population is illiterate must not divert attention from the claims of the literate. Advance all along the line is essential. We cannot afford to ignore any assailable point in the ramparts of ignorance that are flung widely across the path of India's advance.

A. I. MAYHEW,

*Officiating Educational Commissioner
with the Government of India.*

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Before returning to England on furlough for the winter of 1920-21, I had been for some time increasingly impressed by the insufficiency of school education as a preparation either for happy living, or for useful citizenship, and by the need of many people whose formal education has stopped short on leaving school, for compensatory educational facilities. I was, therefore, much interested in the 1918 Education Act, but found that, for financial reasons, the continuation schools which it provided still (except in parts of London) existed only on paper. Disappointed in this field for inquiry, I was attracted by the adult education movement which had made such remarkable strides in England during the last fifteen years.

I soon became convinced that, of all modern educational developments in England, this offered the most hopeful, inspiring and profitable field for inquiry by a student from abroad. Many friends, including some with Indian experience, expressed surprise that I could see in it any message of value to modern India. My own ignorance of India proper made me for a time doubtful too, but, as I learnt more of the history of English adult education, and consulted men who knew Indian conditions more intimately than myself, I came more and more to believe that educational and social reformers in India and Burma could learn much from western experience in this matter.

I believe that there exists in India and Burma a real need, not only for elementary adult education (at present the most urgent requirement), but also for higher adult education; that Indian universities can and should play an important part in supplying this need; that the demand is likely to be expressed soon, and generally; that efforts will be increasingly made by Indian philanthropists to meet it; and that information about similar endeavours in foreign countries will therefore soon be required in India. Hence I have tried in this report to collect the information which was readily available, and to summarize it as a guide to people in India likely to be interested and also as a preliminary handbook to students from India who may wish to study the adult education movement in England.

It should be noted that my inquiry has been confined to higher adult education outside colleges, and is not concerned with elementary adult education or continuation classes (as defined on page 17).

I cannot hope that the sketchy attempt in my last chapter to make constructive suggestions for India will prove of much value. I must leave them to others. The value, if any, of this report will depend on its success in describing a phase of western educational effort, probably the most remarkable of recent years and of growing importance, but as yet little noticed in India.

Owing to the very brief time (four months) available for its compilation my report is bound to contain some inaccuracies; but I hope that it is in the main accurate. Though its message is a plea for co-operation between voluntary agencies, universities, and the State, I did not start with the intention of making such a plea, but have been forced to do so because, as I learnt more of the subject, the value and necessity for such co-operation became increasingly evident. The initiative for any successful movement towards adult education must come, in India as elsewhere, from voluntary agencies, and unless they take a leading part in its control, such a movement is not likely to prosper. I hope, therefore, that the official publication of this report will not prevent its being read by non-official educationalists and philanthropists for whose information it was primarily compiled.

Only three months were spent in collecting material for this report and one in writing it. For official sanction to undertake the furlough study, I had to apply to the Government of Burma, and I did so too late to receive it before my furlough was nearly over. I might, therefore, have been handicapped by the want of letters of introduction from the India Office, but I was not, thanks to the ready help I received from everyone to whom I applied for it. I am specially indebted to Mr. R. Peers, Director of Extra-mural Studies under the Nottingham University College who gave me daily advice and guidance for a fortnight as well as facilities for seeing a number of University Tutorial Classes. I learnt a great deal also from conversations with the tutors and students of these classes. Amongst others who personally gave me information and advice I am specially indebted to Sir Michael Sadler, K.C.S.I., C.B., Mr. A. E. Twentyman (Director of Special Inquiries and Reports and Librarian to the Board of Education), Mr. J. Dover Wilson (one of the Board's two Inspectors of Tutorial classes), Mr. R. H. James (late Principal of Presidency College, Calcutta), Mr. A. I. Mayhew, C.I.E. (Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces), Mr. F. Salter, (W. E. A. East Midland District Secretary), Mr. J. H. Thompson (W. E. A. Yorkshire District Secretary), the Reverend F. E. Hutchinson (Secretary to the Oxford University Extension Delegation),

Mr. R. H. Tawney (Vice President of the W. E. A.), and Mr. Albert Mansbridge (Chairman of the World Association for Adult Education). For kindly supplying me with information by letter I have to thank Mr. J. M. Mactavish (Secretary of the W. E. A.) the Reverend D. H. S. Cranage (Secretary of the Cambridge Extension Syndicate), Mr. Basil Yeaxlee (Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association University Committee), Professor Muirhead of Birmingham University, and the Secretary of the London University Extension Board.

The Final Report (1919) of a Committee on Adult Education appointed in 1917 by the Ministry of Reconstruction, under the Chairmanship of the Master of Balliol, served me as a text-book, and my notes contain little of importance which cannot be found in it. But the very comprehensiveness of that Report, as well as its tendency to repetition and defective reference index, make it rather inconvenient for rapid study. So a summary by an observer from India who has studied the more recent developments and publications of the last few years may be useful to Indian readers. Most of the literature which has resulted from the publication of the Adult Education Committee's Report is included in my bibliography on page 95.

I have to thank Mr. I. B. Stoughton Holborn (Oxford University Extension Lecturer), for kind permission to reprint one of his Lecture Syllabuses in Appendix A.

Adult Education.

CHAPTER I.

Adult Education in England and Wales from 1800-1850.

This Report is a study of extra-mural university teaching, and therefore only indirectly concerned with other methods of adult education. It is however impossible to explain the part played by universities in the development of adult teaching in England without some general survey of adult education during the nineteenth century, for university extension lectures and tutorial classes were provided in England to meet a definite demand which had been stimulated and partly met by a number of previous experiments, many of which are still flourishing. Moreover even a meagre sketch of these attempts suggests, and may even help to a solution of problems which will inevitably confront any agency attempting to develop extra-mural university teaching, or any other form of adult education in India to-day. Among such problems are :—

- (a) The rival claims of utilitarian and liberal education.
- (b) The most suitable methods and atmosphere for adult education.
- (c) The difficulty (mainly financial) of maintaining a high standard while rapidly extending the scope of popular education.
- (d) The difficulties of reconciling State aid with a suitable measure of independent popular control, and of successfully organising the latter.
- (e) The difficulty of distinguishing between education and religious or political propaganda.
- (f) The relative importance of elementary and advanced studies.
- (g) The comparative value of stimulating intellectual interest by popular lectures, and of other methods encouraging more intensive study.
- (h) The utilisation of a number of independent voluntary agencies.

The years 1800-1850.—The early years of the nineteenth century in Great Britain present many interesting points of comparison with India to-day. They were years of political unrest which led up to the Chartist agitation and risings of 1839 and 1848, and the Political Reform Acts of 1832 and 1848; of discontent caused by an industrial and mechanical revolution; of high prices and low wages caused by a great European war recently ended. The average of literacy was very low, yet the desire for knowledge was wide-spread and increasing. Consequently, as in India to-day, the increase of literacy was the most urgent political and educational need. Extra-mural extension of university education was as yet undreamed of, and would, if mooted, have been generally judged as chimerical a project as it may appear to many Indian educationalists to-day. Another factor in the general discontent, which suggests no Indian parallel, was the Corn Law of 1815 which for thirty-one years prevented the importation of cheap food.

The history of adult education in Great Britain did not begin with the nineteenth century. For instance, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge issued in 1711 a circular recommending evening schools for adults, and the Methodist Revival (1729 onwards) and a contemporary religious revival in Wales led to the establishment of a considerable number, especially in Wales. Between 1737 and 1760 over 3,000 "circulating" schools were opened in Wales, which were served by itinerant teachers, and existed mainly to teach "young and old ignorant people" to read the Bible in Welsh. In England much less was done until the political, social and philanthropic movements of the early nineteenth century, and the growing belief in the study of physical science, supplied two other powerful stimuli. We can, therefore, best classify the various experiments in adult education during the first half of the nineteenth century according to their predominating motives :—(a) Religious and philanthropic sentiment, (b) Social and political propaganda, (c) the cult of physical science. The three motives cannot always be clearly distinguished, the last nearly always worked concurrently with one of the other two, but, if this be remembered, the classification is a useful one.

Experiments due to Religious and Philanthropic Sentiment.

The first English "Adult School" for Bible reading and instruction in writing and arithmetic was opened at Nottingham in 1798. The management of Adult Schools was from the first undenominational, though later they owed much to the Society of Friends.

By 1820 there were many Adult Schools and other definitely denominational Sunday Schools working on similar lines in different parts of the country. They met for evening classes during the week as well as on Sundays. The dominant note of these experiments was at first a mixture of "piety, genuine philanthropy, and political apprehension" (v. Adult Education Committee's Report page 11). The religion they taught was supposed to "exhort to content and submission to the higher powers." The ruling classes and the Established Church were afraid of the effects of too ambitious instruction, but believed it was their duty and also their interest to improve by Bible reading the moral condition of the working classes. Their first aim was therefore to break down illiteracy.

Denominational Sunday Schools at first instructed adults as well as children, but as illiteracy decreased they ceased in most parts of England to be concerned with adult education. The Adult Schools, on the other hand, became a permanent force for adult education. Their management continued to be undenominational, their members included nearly all religious persuasions, their curriculum rapidly widened as illiteracy decreased before voluntary effort and was finally broken down by the Education Acts of 1876 and 1891. Though Bible study remains an essential feature, they now devote special and increasing attention to social conditions and problems.

The Cult of Physical Science.

Mechanical inventions had revolutionised industry and caused much unemployment. The specialising mechanic performed narrower and less interesting work than the older craftsman. The need for compensatory education had long been felt, and a widespread movement attempted to provide it in the form of instruction in scientific principles and their application to industry which would render the worker at once more contented and more efficient. Popular scientific literature and magazines were produced, but the most important result of the movement was the Mechanics' Institutes which were opened in large numbers between 1815 and 1850, and provided classes, lectures and libraries.

They aimed at supplying education both utilitarian and liberal. The prospectus of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute in 1824 thus defined its aim:—

"This Society has been formed for the purpose of enabling mechanics and artisans, of whatever trade they may be, to become

acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application in the exercise of that trade, that they may possess a more thorough knowledge of their business, acquire a greater degree of skill in the practice of it, and be qualified to make improvements and even new inventions in the arts which they respectively profess. It is not intended to teach the trade of the machine-maker, the dyer, the carpenter, the mason or any other practical business ; but there is no one which does not depend more or less on scientific principles, and to search out what these are, and to point out their practical application will form the chief objects of this Institution." (Quoted from p. 14, *Adult Education Committee's Report*.)

Mechanics' Institutes succeeded mainly because they supplied a real want, the satisfaction of scientific curiosity, then widespread among mechanical workmen, because their utilitarian objects secured them the approval of the directing classes, and because at first they were more or less democratically managed and largely supported by those who used them. In 1851 there were 610 Mechanics' Institutes in England with a membership of over 600,000, and they arranged 3,054 lectures attended by 16,029 students. By that year, however, the Mechanics' Institute movement had spent its force, and largely changed in character.

The first lecturers were paid, and so continuous and systematic class instruction could be provided ; working people also had a considerable share in the management. The control and financing of the Institutes fell, however, into the hands of the middle classes; voluntary lecturers replaced paid lecturers, and, through the desire to attract large classes, teaching became unsystematic and "popular". Such appears to the Committee which signed the 1919 Adult Education Report to be "the normal process of degeneration in an educational movement when the first impulse which created it is exhausted, especially of a movement which is not sheltered by endowments against changes of fashion."

The interest of working-class members declined as instruction became less serious, and as they lost their share in the management. The gradual discovery that "popular" scientific knowledge did not help people to better themselves or to solve social and political problems, was probably another cause of their desertion. "Even at Manchester, where special efforts were made to retain the original membership, the working class members of the Institute averaged in the six years between 1835-1841 only

309 out of 1,184 members"* (quoted from *Adult Education Report*, p. 16).

Mechanics' Institutes had done important work by laying the foundation for later schools of scientific and mechanical instruction, and by creating a demand for cheap scientific literature. But in the second half of the nineteenth century little but the name attached to these "Temples of Science" was left to remind us of the great adventure they had undertaken, and most of them had been taken over by municipalities for use as libraries and other public purposes.

Their history proved that three things were essential to the success of adult education for working-folk in England: provision of opportunities for systematic study, instruction connected with living interests, and democratic control.

Social and Political Propaganda.

We have seen that social propaganda was a secondary motive with many supporters of the early Adult Schools and denominational Sunday Schools. It was naturally the primary motive in the educational enthusiasm characteristic of the great democratic movements of the early nineteenth century which had been produced by violent industrial changes and the French Revolution, and stimulated by the struggle for parliamentary reform and repeal of the Corn Laws.

The early Trades Unionists, Chartists, and Co-operators claimed universal state education for adults as well as children and attempted, until such time as their demands should be satisfied, to supply the deficiency by such makes-hift expedients as they could devise and afford.

Like the modern Workers Educational Association, the heirs of their wide ideals and partial achievements, they believed that

*The following quotation from Framley Parsonage is significant, for Trollope was no caricaturist and on the whole a faithful delineator of the manners of his age. Mr. Harold Smith, M. P. thus begins his popular lecture at a Mechanics' Institute. "It was," he said, "the most peculiar characteristic of the present era in the British Islands that those who were high-placed before the world in rank, wealth, and education were willing to come forward and give their time and knowledge without fee or reward for the advantage and amelioration of those who did not stand so high in the social scale." The Barchesterians took in all in good part and gave the lecturer the applause of their hands and feet. And then, well pleased, he recommenced—"I do not make these remarks with reference to myself so much as to many noble and talented lords and members of the lower House who have lately from time to time devoted themselves to this good work." And then he went through a long list of Peers and Members of Parliament, beginning of course with Lord Boanerges and ending with Mr. Green Walker, a young gentleman who had lately been returned by his uncle's interest for the borough of Crewe Junction, and had immediately made his entrance into public life by a lecture on the grammarians of the Latin language as exemplified at Eton School.

adults required chiefly liberal and political education, which the Mechanics' Institutes failed to provide.

Their actual achievements were comparatively small, though remarkable considering their inexperience and the meagre resources at their command. Debating societies and political clubs usually flourished before classes or lectures. The Chartists opened a hall in Holborn for lectures, concerts, and classes for working men. Lovett, the "parent of Chartism," Cooper, "shoemaker, musician, journalist and poet," himself taught literature and history for many years in London to his fellow workers, and thereby set an example of far-reaching consequence. The Trades Unions established mutual improvement classes at Manchester and elsewhere. The Co-operators achieved more, for nearly all their early Societies provided libraries, classes and lectures, and many opened regular schools for children and adults in hired rooms.

But the educational propaganda carried on by these early nineteenth century democratic movements was infinitely more important than their actual educational work. It led to the Education Acts of 1856 and 1876, which did not directly affect adults, but paved the way for the various schemes of adult education which were set on foot in the second half of the century. Seven years before the State made its first grant to education Lovett had published a programme for free education continued into adult life to be provided partly by voluntary contributions, partly by the State. The example he set in London led to the founding of the People's College (by the initiative of an Independent Church Minister) at Sheffield as early as 1842, and to that of the London Working Men's College in 1854 (see pages 11 and 12).

Some valuable observations are suggested by the study of the educational propaganda and achievements of early nineteenth century democratic movements:

- (a) A strong demand for liberal adult education (beyond the "three Rs.") existed, and had been to some extent met by voluntary agencies, long before school education for children had been made free or compulsory.
- (b) Working-class leaders already expressed preference for liberal rather than utilitarian adult education.
- (c) Educational schemes, when initiated and managed by working-folk, showed surprising vitality in spite of scanty funds and experience.

- (d) Want of funds, which could only be provided by the state, and of knowledge, which could only come from the upper classes and the universities, starved and frustrated schemes which would otherwise have been much more successful.

CHAPTER II.

Adult Education in England and Wales from 1850 Onwards.

The year 1850 is a landmark in English social and educational history. The Chartist agitation had collapsed after an unsuccessful outbreak in 1848, and the period of philanthropy and high democratic idealism, which had inspired so much voluntary educational effort, ended. The repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) removed the chief cause of social misery. Wages rose and prices fell. Prosperity produced a comfortable apathy in all classes. The educational activities of the co-operators, trades unionists, and the churches relaxed. The two first, though they did valuable educational work later in the century, were preoccupied for a time by plans to increase the material prosperity of their members. The churches, and religion itself lost support and vitality through the unwise opposition of their leaders to scientific discoveries and especially to the theory of man's place in the universe contained in Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) and *Descent of Man* (1871).

Most of the adult schools had died out by 1850, but they were the first of the old voluntary agencies to recover. The rest did so later in the century with results which will be summarized later.

Meanwhile new agencies were enlisted thanks to the re-organisation and revival as national institutions of the English Universities.

All early efforts at adult education had been starved for want of centres of sound learning from which to draw knowledge. The great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had during the eighteenth century been appropriated by the great families and the established church, and during the first half of the nineteenth century they continued to educate only the ruling classes and a sprinkling of the middle classes who, after gaining admission, usually looked to the aristocracy or to the established church for preferment. Only two other Universities (London and Durham) existed before 1850.

The number of students at the old universities was miserably low considering the rich endowments of the colleges, their curriculum was narrow and entrance to them was restricted by religious tests and the high cost of living. Necessary reforms-

would not perhaps have been undertaken so soon had not Queen Victoria married in 1840 a remarkably well educated and accomplished German prince whose recommendations secured the appointment of two Royal Commissions on Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

Their reports (1852 and following years) "Stirred into active life a mass of sleeping endowments, threw the older universities open to the active minds of the middle classes, and made possible all subsequent changes" (quoted from p 25 Adult Education Committee's Report).

The phrase "University Extension" was first used during the discussions of the Oxford Commission. Sewell, in his evidence, recommended the establishment of lectureships and colleges out of University endowments in industrial towns as a means of carrying the University to the masses since it was impossible to bring them to the University.

University extension, in the modern sense of the term, did not immediately result, though the establishment of the University Local Examinations by Oxford (1857) and Cambridge (1858) provided a precedent and administrative machinery for extra-mural activities. Jowett, in his suggestions for University Reform (1874) criticised the control of revenues of £30,000, and £40,000 a year by colleges educating less than a hundred undergraduates, and recommended the establishment of college lectureships in the large industrial towns.

Cambridge had even then begun extension work in 1873, when three courses of 24 lectures each were arranged in Derby, Leicester and Nottingham. London and Oxford followed her example in 1876 and 1878.

An attempt will be made in Chapter III to sketch the methods and organisation, and to appreciate the achievements of University extension lectures. Their establishment was a landmark of the greatest importance as an admission by the Universities of their obligation to provide extra-mural adult teaching. They developed rapidly and resulted, as had been anticipated, in the establishment of local University Colleges at Sheffield (1879), Nottingham (1881), Reading (1892) and Exeter; they supplied middle-class women with higher education before colleges were provided for them; but they failed (and in an increasing degree as time went on) to appeal to the working-classes for whose benefit they had primarily been instituted. Their failure in this direction seems to have been due to financial difficulties which led their organisers to attract large audiences

by courses too short for serious, systematic study, and to the absence of working-class co-operation in their management. Thus they shared to some extent, especially in the south of England, the fate of the early Mechanics' Institutes which, according to an indignant contemporary critic, had been "swallowed up in a vortex of gentility."

The next, the latest, and so far the most interesting development of extra-mural university teaching, the Tutorial Class movement, has appealed more successfully to the working classes. Profiting by the example of University Extension, it has retained certain features of that system (particularly the smaller class held after each lecture, and essay-writing) which appealed to serious working-class students, and it has avoided others which did not. Working-class agencies have co-operated with Universities in the organisation and management of Tutorial Classes, while liberal grants from the Board of Education, and in some cases from Local Education Authorities, have made it possible to provide highly qualified tutors for classes of not more than 30 students engaged in intensive study for three-year periods. Tutorial Classes are the product of the Workers' Educational Association founded in 1903, which describes itself as "a Federation of over 3,000 Educational and Workers Organisations, non-sectarian, non-political," and owes its foundation and success largely to the missionary enthusiasm and organising ability of Mr. Albert Mansbridge, its first Secretary (1903-1916), and now the Chairman of the World Association for Adult Education.

The first two Tutorial Classes arranged by the W. E. A. in co-operation with Universities were opened in 1908, and contained 48 men and 10 women.

In 1919-20, 229 W. E. A. three-year Tutorial Classes were being attended by 3,624 men and 1,696 women; and 328 W. E. A. one-year Tutorial classes were being attended by 7,118 students of whom 3,230 were women.

Chapter III will be devoted to the University Tutorial Class movement, and other W. E. A. educational activities.

It remains briefly to notice other voluntary and official agencies for adult education which, though often of far-reaching consequence, operated without direct assistance from Universities, and are therefore of less importance to the subject of this study.

All of them, it should be remembered, owed much of their success to the improvement in school education effected by the Education Act of 1856 which established school-boards, the Education Act of 1876 which made elementary education compulsory)

the Education Act of 1891 which made it free, the Act of 1899 which established the Board of Education as a central authority, and the Education Act of 1902 which replaced the School Boards by County and Borough Local Education Authorities. The 1918 Education Act, if ever put into force, will, by extending the age of School attendance to 16 and by making further attendance at evening Continuation Schools compulsory up to the age of 18, do much more than its predecessors to prepare students for the various facilities for advanced Adult education to be provided in the future.

Colleges for working people (residential and non-residential.)

The second half of the nineteenth century, which, thanks to the Royal Commission of 1852, opened the English Universities to the middle classes, was also remarkable for efforts to provide special colleges for working people. The first colleges of the kind owed their foundation to philanthropic movements emanating from the old universities, but received strong financial support from trade unions and co-operative societies. Their modern successors are all to a greater or less degree under working-class control. While the number of students they directly influence has been small compared to those who have attended university extension lectures and tutorial classes, they have had a wide educational influence by supplying classes and study circles throughout the country with many tutors and leaders of their own class who have had the advantage of continuous systematic study in a collegiate atmosphere.

The first People's College, founded at Sheffield in 1842, was imitated by others at London, Leicester, Manchester, Wolverhampton, Oxford, Cambridge, Salford, Halifax, and Liverpool, but of the above only the London Working Men's College, and the Vaughan Memorial College at Leicester carry on to-day the work for which they were instituted. The People's Colleges were designed to give closer contact between teachers and taught, more humane and ethical education, more definite training for social service, and more working class control than the contemporary Mechanics' Institutes afforded. Their founders felt, like those responsible for the modern Tutorial Classes, the necessity of beginning with living interests. "When you substitute pumps and gases," wrote Frederick Denison Maurice, the Christian Socialist, "you cut yourself off from the most active and energetic thought of the minds with which you have to deal."

The London Working Men's College arose from the co-operative movement, was founded in 1854 by Maurice, Charles Kingsley,

Tom Hughes and others, and still flourishes to-day, thanks partly to the distinguished men (*e.g.*, Ruskin, Rossetti, Lowes Dickinson) who have given their services to it, but also to its tradition for broad and liberal culture. 1,485 students entered its various classes for the session of 1919-20.

Ruskin College was formed in 1899 to give liberal education to working people, it is residential and receives about fifty students. Since 1910 it has been entirely managed by the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies which support it. It is the only working-men's college so controlled and financed which aims at non-partisan, broad and liberal culture, and utilises the tutors and examinations of an established University (Oxford).

The London Central Labour College was formed in 1910 by a "split" between the directors of Ruskin College who wished to bring into closer touch with the University, and the Principal and a number of the students who did not. It is supported entirely by the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen. Its supporters constantly condemn the "academic" education provided by Universities and W. E. A. classes; it is frankly partisan in character, and exists to train skilled propagandists to wage war against the existing "Capitalist" economic system. No students are admitted unless they are prepared to support its revolutionary aims. It has so far only about 80 resident students, but is planning building extensions for many more; after their training they are put in charge of classes conducted on W. E. A. lines but bitterly opposed to the W. E. A. "academic" spirit of open-minded search for truth and knowledge.

They desire no help from Universities and no grant from public funds; the Plebs (the monthly magazine of the Plebs League, an association of ex-students and supporters of the Labour College) insists with alliterative emphasis that "We want neither your crumbs nor your condescension, your guidance nor your glamour, your tuition nor your tradition."

The total number of students attending "Central Labour" classes is estimated at 7,000 to 8,000. They are most active in South Wales (where two whole-time tutors are employed at a salary of £ 6-12 s., a week with travelling expenses) but they are common in the Midlands where, at the beginning of the winter of 1920-21, mining villages desiring a tutorial class often had to choose between W. E. A. and Central Labour. I have talked with a W. E. A. student of strong socialist views who had been influential in persuading a group of would-be students to choose the former

in order that they might hear more than one side of the questions studied. In the industrial areas of England (and especially in the West Riding of Yorkshire) English 'good sense' seems generally to support his choice and the "Central Labour" movement is also handicapped by deficiency in the supply and quality of its tutors. The small output of the Labour College does not yet go far, and many classes undertaken by its graduates have dwindled away through lack of attendance and interest. The movement, though it can hardly be characterised as educational, cannot be omitted in any survey of adult education in England. It is often a serious competitor with more genuinely educational agencies and is frankly opposed to the spirit of liberal and open-minded inquiry pursued by Ruskin College and the W. E. A. classes. The instinct prompting this opposition is doubtless, from the propagandist point of view, a just one, for liberal education, though it makes a man wiser and more reasonable, tends to render him a less efficient and whole-hearted propagandist.*

Another Labour College was recently founded independently at Glasgow and claims to have provided classes for 3,000 students on the Clyde, where the W. E. A. is not a competitor.

Even as an educational (as distinguished from a propagandist) agency, the work of the Labour Colleges cannot be altogether discounted; the propagandist aim attracts many to study who would not otherwise have studied at all; the curriculum is bound to be broadened in time, for students are already complaining of its narrowness; moreover by no means all its students become mere propagandists and revolutionaries. Whatever its future, it is an interesting output of independent working-class endeavour inspired partly by educational idealism.

Other existing Colleges for working people, some controlled by working-class associations, some by philanthropic and religious voluntary associations, some by Local Education Authorities, and all attempting to provide tuition by university graduates in a collegiate atmosphere, are: Morley College London, Fircroft Birmingham (an imitation of the Danish High Schools, v. p. 67) the W. E. A. non-residential College at Chorley in Lancashire, Woodbroke Settlement, Birmingham (a residential College founded and influenced mainly by the Adult School movement and the Society of Friends), and the London College for Working Women.

* I have heard of a working man who complained that before he went to Ruskin College he could hold an audience for two hours, but that, after three months studying there, he was no longer an effective speaker; he therefore left the institution and became its declared enemy.

The Educational Work of Settlements.

Since the foundation of Toynbee Hall between forty and fifty other settlements, residential and non-residential, have been founded in the slum areas of great English cities. Their objects have been to study social conditions, and alleviate misery and degradation by providing religious teaching, liberal and technical education, recreation, and fellowship. The agencies responsible for their foundation and upkeep have been so varied that it is difficult to summarise them; they include the Adult Schools, the Society of Friends, the Y. M. C. A., the Denominational Churches, groups of University men, and the Public Schools. They nearly all have systematic educational schemes and many of them arrange University extension lectures, and Workers' Educational Association classes.*

Some reference has already been made to the Adult Schools, the Co-operative Societies, and the Trade Unions. We can only briefly sketch here the present educational activities of each.

The Adult Schools.

The Adult Schools are widely distributed south of the Tweed but have little hold in Scotland and Wales. They are strongest in Yorkshire, Leicestershire and the Midlands. In 1914 there were 18,000 Adult Schools, some containing as many as 500 students under 30 independent territorial Adult School Unions which are federated into the National Adult School Union. Sunday morning is the usual meeting time for men's classes, Sunday afternoon for women's, but schools which possess their own buildings hold classes, debating societies, and study circles during the week. Teachers are rarely paid, no State aid is sought, complete freedom of discussion even of religious subjects is universal.

Agnostics are welcomed and often found as members of classes. Week-end lectures, Sunday evening fellowship meetings, and Summer Schools are often provided. Many useful lesson handbooks and aids to study are published and in considerable demand even outside Adult School circles. The Unions maintain ten guest-houses and holiday-homes. There has long been a close connection between the Adult Schools and the Workers Educational

* The Educational Settlement Association, whose London Office is at 30 Bloomsbury Street, W. C. I, has been formed to act as a link between Settlements (residential and otherwise), and to assist any organisation desiring to develop on Settlement lines. The honorary Secretary will be glad to give information and supply literature to any one interested in Settlement work.

Association. In 1918-14 341 Adult Schools were affiliated to the W. E. A., and the Educational Committee of the National Adult School Union is affiliated to the Central Council of the Workers' Educational Association. The Adult Schools, partly through the indirect influence of the Workers' Educational Association, show a marked tendency to serious and systematic study of social questions. Many people attend both Workers' Educational Association classes and Adult Schools and both benefit thereby. "It is in the Adult Schools" I was told by a student who had been attending Workers' Educational Association classes regularly for about ten years, "that we get a chance of using and testing our knowledge."

Co-operative Societies.

We have already sketched on pages 5 and 6 the uphill educational activities of the early Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies, and noticed how, though their practical effort relaxed for a time after the middle of the nineteenth century, the Co-operators' propaganda prepared the ground for University Extension Lectures and Tutorial classes.

The Co-operators, who have refused so far to be annexed by any political party, did not long forget their educational ideals. Local societies have for many years reserved a proportion of their profits for educational purposes, such as classes, (liberal as well as vocational, for adults as well as adolescents) popular lectures, study circles, summer and week-end schools. The Central Educational Committee of the Co-operative Union advises, stimulates, and co-ordinates the efforts of local co-operative societies, draws up syllabuses of studies, conducts examinations and issues certificates to instructors, employs an adviser of studies and two assistants, supports and shares in the control of Ruskin College and the London Working Men's College, has a representative on the Central Council of the Workers' Educational Association and contributes to its expenses. Many local societies co-operate with branches of the Workers' Educational Association and supply tutorial class students. A fair number, by forming classes, or providing accomodation for them, co-operate with Local Education Authorities.

Trade Unions.

The record of Trade Union educational activity is less remarkable, but yet considerable. Many Trade Unions are affiliated to local branches of the Workers' Educational Association and are represented on the university joint-committees for providing tutorial classes; they support both Ruskin College and the

Labour College, and share in their management. Occasionally they co-operate with Local Education Authorities by collecting students for their classes. They have, however, shown a decided tendency to mistrust classes over which they have no control, and they have often expressed suspicion of the "academic" element in the control and teaching of Workers' Educational Association classes. The Workers' Educational Association, however, justly asserts that "freedom of thought and speech are claimed as a right by both their tutors and students", and that the universities and Local Education Authorities that co-operate with it concern themselves only with the "attendance of the students, the standard of work done, and the teaching capacity of the tutor." This assurance has recently led to a closer rapprochement between trade unionism and the Workers' Educational Association.

A "Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee" was formed about a year ago by the Confederation of Iron and Steel Trades. It decided that "facilities for study while continuing their every day employment" was a more important matter for its members than sending a few students to college. After considering the three alternatives of (a) utilising the facilities offered by Education Authorities in evening courses, (b) providing its own educational facilities, and (c) utilising the services of the Workers' Educational Association it decided on the latter course. During 1919-20 it spent over £800 on remitting fees to Workers' Educational Association class students, and on scholarships to Workers' Educational Association Summer Schools and lectures, and it recently appointed two "tutor organisers" on salaries of £400-450.

An important conference of representatives from sixteen other Trade Unions last October (1920), approved of the formation and policy of the Workers' Educational Trade Unions Committee, and passed a resolution "urging on all Trade Unions the importance of assisting the Committee in its pioneering efforts."

If Trade Unions are satisfied that there is effective working class control over Workers' Educational Association classes and that absolute freedom of speech and opinion is allowed in them, they are likely to support the Workers' Educational Association more effectively and substantially than in the past.

Local Education Authorities.

In 1902-3, the year in which state-aided evening schools were taken over by the newly constituted County and Borough Education Committees, there were in England and Wales 5,624 such

evening schools with 657,594 students attending them. In 1914-15, there were 5,968. The number fell considerably during the war; I have not obtained any post-war figures, which may be expected to show some increase. The above will suffice to show that the activities in this direction of Local Education Authorities are much more extensive than those of other agencies more closely studied in this report. To a great extent, however, Local Educational Authorities' classes are outside its scope. Not only are these classes mainly concerned with technical and vocational subjects (though by no means entirely so), but they contain a much larger proportion of adolescents than adults. They are for the most part "continuation schools" well defined on p. 29 c IV of the Calcutta University Commission's Report as "courses of instruction given in the day time or at night for students of from 14 years of age upwards who have already left the day school for employment or home duties but who wish to continue their education at times when their avocations allow them to attend. These classes are of three grades, the most elementary of the three being articulated with the work done in the primary schools, the middle and higher grades being of a standard comparable subject by subject, with that reached in Secondary Day Schools or even in more advanced institutions." It follows that "the same authority which superintends Secondary Education should have control of most continuation classes also."

It is true that Local Education Authorities have sometimes, as during the 1920 coal strike, organised lectures and classes for adults in direct co-operation with Universities, but the tendency seems to be for them to leave such organisation to University Joint Committees" (*v. pp. 37 & 41*) and confine their direct action to continuation and technical schools.

The difference between Adult and Continuation teaching is not only one of organization but largely one of method. Continuation Schools tend to follow ordinary school methods, while the tutorial class methods (described in Chapter IV) are admittedly more suitable for adult classes.

It will be seen from the above sketch that it is difficult to estimate even approximately the important work being done for liberal adult education by Local Education Authorities. When money is found to put the 1918 Education Act into force, continuation schools, so far on a voluntary basis except in parts of London, will become compulsory up to the age of 18, and the distinction between them and adult classes will be more clearly defined. The Local Education Authorities' classes are often criticised in

Worker's Educational Association publications, and in the public speeches of trade unionists, as too bureaucratically managed, and in need of working-class control. Many passages in the Adult Education Committee's final report reflected this criticism, and it recommended (on p. 171) the formation of Adult Education Joint Committees for Counties and Boroughs to "do for non-university education what the University Joint Committees have done for extra-mural University Education."

In areas where no University Joint Committees already exist this recommendation would probably be practicable and beneficial, but it has resulted in over-lapping and confusion of organisation in at least one area where a University Joint Committee was already active. The present tendency is rather to entrust University Joint Committees (on which Local Education Authorities should be represented) with the organisation of all liberal education for adults (even where the tutors supplied have no other connection with the University), and to confine the direct activities of the Local Education Authority to ordinary schools, continuation schools, and technical schools and classes.

The amount of aid given by Local Education Authorities to technical classes, and their general attitude to non-vocational Adult Education varies greatly up and down the country. Some give liberally, some give nothing, and a few are hostile. The least liberal are some of the smaller Borough Education Committees, which tend to suspect any non-vocational classes for adults, and to see revolutionary propaganda in the study of history or economics.

The unprogressive element in certain Local Education Authorities has been indicated as one reason for the meagre increase of evening schools between 1902 and 1914 (v figures quoted on pages 16) ; absence of working class control and consequent "labour" suspicion of biased teaching has been given as another reason. It seems probable, however, that the limit of continuation school expansion possible on a voluntary basis has very nearly been reached. Compulsory attendance and facilities for attendance during working hours were probably necessary for any considerable increase, and provision has been made for them by the 1918 Education Act. Local Education authorities will have their hands full for some years to come in providing the continuation schools required under that Act. It seems all the more probable that they will leave the direct organisation of liberal education for adults to University Joint Committees and voluntary agencies.

Army Education in War Time.

The organisation of education for the British Army was one of the wonders of the Great War. It is regrettable that space cannot be spared even to sketch it here, for, though temporary, it will have lasting results outside as well as within the Army. It was rendered possible by the many and various adventures in Adult Education described in this chapter, and it has, by awakening a taste for study in many young men, given a remarkable stimulus to Adult Education, the effect of which has been acknowledged by all the agencies engaged on it since the war. The work was begun and widely developed up to the spring of 1918 by various voluntary agencies among which the Young Men's Christian Association (which appointed its University Committee in the spring of 1918 and spent over £140,000 yearly on Army Education during the War) stood first. This work led to the great Army Education Scheme of 1918, a wonderful example of rapid educational organisation which is described in the Adult Education Committee's report as "an official formulation and authorisation of work which had been going on in the Army for many months past."

The Young Men's Christian Association after the War.

For many years before the War the Young Men's Christian Association had organised programmes of lectures, and a fair number of classes at all their large branches, but its educational work suffered from defective organisation and lack of co-operation with other agencies, and its lectures often served recreational rather than educational ends. Its war-time activities stimulated the demand for Adult Education and the Association is now making very successful efforts to meet it. It aims at "freedom of choice of subject, methods of treatment, and discussion, as much as sound teaching and access to good libraries." Expert advice and guidance in its educational work has been secured by the formation of the Young Men's Christian Association Universities Committee, which includes representatives of Universities and other bodies which co-operated with the Association during the War, and serves as a central organisation to direct and co-ordinate the work of educational secretaries of territorial divisions (*e.g.* North Midland, South Midland, Lancashire and Cheshire, South Wales, and Western Divisions). These divisional Secretaries have been warned "that the Young Men's Christian Association has adopted co-operation as a definite part of its programme and deprecates duplication or rivalry," and they closely co-operate with Local

Education Authorities, University Extension Authorities, Settlements, the W. E. A., the Co-operative Union Educational Department, the National Adult School Union, the National Home Reading Union, the Students Association Union, the Gilchrist Trustees, Literary, Philosophical, Archæological, Scientific, Musical, Dramatic, and Operatic Societies, Commercial and Technical Schools, Public Libraries, the Women's Institutes, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Teachers' Union. Special attention is given to non-vocational subjects of manifest interest to the educand, technical and vocational instruction being provided only when other agencies fail to meet the demand for it. During the past winter (1920-21) hundreds of lectures, classes, and study groups have been arranged by the Association throughout the country. Popular lectures by well-known speakers are still arranged particularly at large centres (*e. g.*, at York) where there is no University or University College to provide them. But the tendency is to proceed from lectures to class-work, and the single lecture is generally intended to lead to classes and study groups. For more advanced tuition (such as three-year tutorial classes) the Association uses the W. E. A. and University Extension Authorities wherever their co-operation can be secured. Classes are provided with books from the Central Library for Students. The Association's classes are attended by business and professional men as well as by labourers and artisans. Tuition by correspondence is also undertaken.

The Association is represented on a number of the Joint Committees for Adult Education which, as recommended by the Adult Education Committee's Report, are being set up by Universities and Local Education Authorities.

Its up-to-date methods and organisation deserve the careful study of all voluntary agencies engaged in Adult Education in India.

Other religious organisations, and societies, by their classes, lectures, study circles, and publications, have carried on a mass of useful adult educational work the amount and quality of which we have no means of definitely estimating. The study of social problems has become a recognised feature of church activity. The Missionary Societies devote much attention to study circles which approach missionary problems through comparative religions and the history and geography of the countries where missions are supported.

Nearly every town in England supports one, or more than one,

Literary, Scientific, or Musical Society. Their educational work though difficult to estimate, is wide-spread and considerable.

The study of Adult Education in England and Wales from 1850 upwards, suggests the following profitable observations :—

- (1) Each of a great number and variety of voluntary agencies began its work without any encouragement from the State, and carried it on with singularly little friction or overlapping.
- (2) A much higher standard of work was made possible by improvement in the organisation of ordinary school education and by its being made free and compulsory.
- (3) The co-operation of Universities produced a notable improvement in the quality of work, and acted as a strong stimulus. It also made for liberal, broad minded study and enquiry during a period remarkable for much illiberal propaganda masquerading under the name of education.
- (4) It has been found almost universally necessary for the success of Adult Education to give people for whom it is provided a share in its management. The "Joint Committee" idea is now almost universally accepted.
- (5) Adults should be given the kind of education to which they feel drawn, and begin with topics in which they feel a living interest.
- (6) The fullest possible expression of opinion should be permitted to both tutors and students.
- (7) A number of new methods were devised or perfected during this period and proved of such universal utility that they deserve the careful consideration of all agencies interested in Adult education in other countries. Among such methods were Colleges for Working People, Settlements, Summer Schools, Week-end Schools, Study circles, University Extension Lectures, and Tutorial Classes. The last two methods will be more closely considered in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER III.

University Extension Lectures.

I remarked in the last chapter that the phrase "University Extension" was first used to cover all the various extra-mural activities by which universities proposed to widen their influence on national life. It still bears this wider significance, but is perhaps more commonly applied in a narrower sense to one important method of extra-mural teaching, a combination of lecture, class, and essay-writing. For convenience the phrase will only be used in this narrower sense in the course of this chapter.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, as already noted, began a new era of university co-operation in adult education. Extension lectures were its first and for many years its most important result. If we except indirect help given to Working Men's Colleges and the settlements, it may be said that, between the years 1872 and 1907, they were its only result. At the beginning of the twentieth century the University Extension movement seemed to have lost much of its vigour and usefulness. It was commonly criticised, though unjustly, for having lost sight of its original ideals and for providing little more than 'popular' lectures for a number of idle women and a few idle men of the leisured classes.

Much of the pioneer spiritual zeal which had supported University Extension in the past was devoted after 1907 to the new University Tutorial Class movement, which received preferential treatment from Government and loomed large in the public eye. The war necessarily reduced the activities of University Extension authorities and, even when the Adult Education Committee's report (compiled largely under war conditions) was published in 1919, their work had not recovered its pre-war dimensions. The report of the committee, on which the Workers' Educational Association and its friends were strongly represented, acutely analysed the weakness and defects of University Extension teaching, and suggested a connection between them and the absence of adequate support from the State. Had the report been drafted two years later it would probably have appreciated more fully the intrinsic value and vitality of the University Extension method. A number of interesting publications which have attempted to summarise and criticise the 1919 report, reflect its criticism of University Extension teaching, and tend either to disparage such teaching, or rather anxiously to defend it. Perhaps its best defence will be found in

the figures (not yet officially published) for the Oxford, Cambridge and London University extension lecture seasons of 1920-21 and later years. Most of the northern universities, which were stated in the 1919 report to be generally concentrating their extra-mural efforts on tutorial classes are now providing extension lecture courses, which, though more democratically organised and controlled, follow the same method as those provided by the older universities. In some cases they are supplying centres formerly served by the more remote older universities, thereby effecting an economy in lecturers' time and travelling expenses. The 1919 report made important suggestions for more liberal State aid for extension lectures, which are likely to be accepted by Government. There are therefore many signs that the extension method is coming into its own again. Even if this were not so, its past influence on the intellectual life of the country and on other agencies for adult education in England and abroad, would require from any student of adult education a careful examination of its history, and development.

I shall briefly sketch below its history, methods, organisation and finance; next inquire into how far it has succeeded in attaining the aims of its founders; and lastly try to estimate its future possibilities in England, and on what they depend.

History.

Even before the appointment of the Royal Commissions on Oxford and Cambridge (1852) it had been suggested that the Mechanics' Institutes should be supplied with lecturers by the universities. It was also suggested in the evidence supplied to those commissions, that part of their endowments should be used to establish institutes for providing lectures in industrial towns. Jowett much later recommended the establishment of local colleges by the older universities. But the only immediate result of these Royal Commissions outside the universities was the university local examinations started by Oxford in 1857 and by Cambridge in 1858. In 1867 Professor James Stuart accepted (from the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women) an invitation to lecture to working people. During his lecture tours, he, like most other people who have tried to deal with serious subjects in single lectures, felt how much more might be achieved by systematic courses, and, through the suggestion of some of his students, experimented successfully with the supplementary discussion classes and essay-writing which became the distinctive features of nearly all later extension lectures and tutorial classes. He persuaded the University of Cambridge to organise extension lectures in 1873. In 1876 and 1878 London

and Oxford followed the example of Cambridge. Durham and Victoria (Manchester) and most of the new northern universities took up the work later.

The Cambridge Syndicate, the Oxford Delegacy, and the London Board for the Extension of University Teaching secured panels of very distinguished lecturers, many of whom through zeal for the cause of adult education and especially in the hope of helping the working classes took up the work at a personal sacrifice. The successful growth of the movement owed much to their ability and keenness. It is difficult to offer figures by which it can be rapidly and adequately reviewed as a whole. Those for Oxford, Cambridge and London must be examined separately, and (because of differences in the length of the courses organised by each) the comparative importance of the work of each of the universities is difficult to estimate. Cambridge has organised courses of 5 to 25 lectures, the majority being 12 lecture courses. London has organised courses of 5 to 25 lectures, the majority being 25 lecture courses. Oxford has organised courses of 6 to 18 lectures, of which a large majority have been six lecture courses.

In 1913-14, the last normal year before the war, Oxford organised 131 courses, Cambridge 82, London 105. During the war the number of courses fell considerably, and Oxford reached its lowest figures in 1917-18 with only 58 courses. In 1918-19 Oxford had 60 courses, Cambridge 42, and London 103. In 1919-20, Oxford had 111 courses, Cambridge 77, and London 141.

For the lecture season of 1920-21 complete figures could not at the time this report was compiled be obtained. Oxford had already arranged 120 courses, and expected to arrange more; the Secretary of her Extension Delegacy informed me that "the recovery is almost complete and audiences show marked increase at many centres." Cambridge had arranged over 80 centres, and the Secretary of the Cambridge Syndicate informed me that "more courses have been arranged this winter than for a long time past, more than for several years before the war. There is greatly increased interest on the part of the local authorities." Interesting details are given in the Adult Education Committee's report as to the number and permanence of the Oxford centres established to arrange lectures. In the decade 1885-1895, 155 centres were established; in the decade 1895-1905, 112 centres, and in the period 1905-1914, 65 centres. Of these 332 centres only 114 were arranging lectures in 1913-14, but 83 of them had been carrying on work continuously for periods varying from 10 to 28 years.

Method.

The Method of university extension teaching is thus summarised in the latest prospectus issued by the University of Leeds :—"The essential features of the University Extension method consist of the delivery of a weekly or fortnightly lecture upon the lines of a syllabus previously issued for the guidance of the students, followed by a class in which the lecturer discusses with the students any points of difficulty which may have arisen during the lecture. Thus, while the lecture audience consists of those who are interested in the subject generally, the class is attended by those students who are prepared to work at home in connection with the teaching. At the end of each lecture essay subjects are given out by the lecturer, to whom the papers are sent by the students, in order that the written work may be returned by the lecturer at the next week's class. In their choice and use of books the students are assisted by the printed syllabus, which gives an analysis of the lectures and contains lists of books recommended for private study. In connection with each course the University issues a travelling library which contains, as far as possible, copies of the books recommended by the lecturer. The library is returned to the University at the end of the course. At the end of the course an examination is held, if the local committee so desire, by an examiner other than the lecturer appointed by the University. Entrance to the examination is optional and open to all students over 15 years of age who have attended not less than three-fourths of the classes during the course and have satisfied the lecturer with their written work. Certificates are granted to successful candidates, and distinction is awarded on the joint recommendation of the lecturer and examiner.

The majority of University Extension courses deal with subjects drawn from Language and Literature, History, Geography, Art and Economics, or with such aspects of physical science as may be conveniently treated in a course which is designed for a comparatively large audience. The lectures and classes are arranged in courses of six and upwards. The lectures are given at weekly or fortnightly intervals, as may be preferred."

In "appendix A" will be found a specimen of one of the syllabuses for a six lecture course issued by the Oxford Delegacy which gives its centres a choice of three to four hundred courses grouped under two sections, Natural Science, and Arts, of which the latter much predominates.

The attendance at lectures has varied from 800 or 1,000 to 30 or 40. The average attendance at Oxford centres over a long period

of years has been estimated at from 100 to 120. The attendance at classes and the number of essays written are rightly regarded as important tests of success in encouraging serious study. Figures are not easy to obtain and it is difficult to form a reliable estimate as to class attendances and essay-writing, which vary greatly at different centres.

In a number of cases classes have not been well attended or successful, and the amount of essay-writing has been negligible. The Oxford Extension Delegacy's report for the year ending September 1920 is, however, reassuring both as to class attendance and essay-writing; "Taking the classes as a whole, the attendance for the year reached an average percentage of 78 per class, as compared with 73 per cent. for the preceding session. The quantity of written work was also above the average of the past few years and several classes did more than usually well in this respect. The Ashford class (22 students) wrote 171 essays, Kettering (22 students) 227, Lincoln (27 students) 209, Maidstone (24 students) 140, North Wingfield (22 students) 192, and Stafford (32 students) 348. Speaking generally of the year's work, the results were highly satisfactory and full of promise for the future."

Extension Students Associations, meeting under a class-leader and the advice of the university lecturer to follow up his instruction by listening to papers and discussion, have done useful work at many centres. They represent yet another use of the study circle method, the ubiquity of which has already been noticed.

Oxford in 1888 borrowed from the American Chautauqua (v. cli v, p. 64.) the Summer Meeting idea, and Cambridge has also adopted it as an essential feature of its extension work. For some years past meetings for extension students and other visitors have been held alternately at Oxford and Cambridge. Attendances have varied from 500 to over 1,000 students. Though a systematised programme of lectures is arranged around some general subjects (*e. g.*, the main subject of study at the Summer Meeting held at Oxford in August 1921 was "Ancient Rome: its place in the history of Civilisation,") these Summer Meetings have aimed at stimulating intellectual interest rather than at providing facilities for serious study, or discussion. The Summer Schools recently organised at Oxford and elsewhere for Workers' Educational Association students, have been much more strenuous and severely educational.

To strengthen the connection between the Universities and their Extension Centres, and to encourage progressive and connected study of a sequence of subjects, Cambridge and Oxford have adopted similar "affiliation" schemes. The Oxford Convocation affiliates centres which undertake to provide courses of instruction extending over four years, and consisting of not less than 96 lectures and classes (of which three-quarters must be from an arts group and a quarter from a mathematics or science group, or *vice versa*.) An individual student who has successfully attended and passed examinations in these courses, and has also passed the Oxford Higher Local Examination offering Latin and certain other stated subjects, is excused, on certain conditions, one of the two years' residence required for a degree. This concession can hardly be regarded as a short cut to a degree, and has not often been used by students. In 1914 Cambridge had only four affiliated centres, and Oxford only one.

No mention is made of the affiliation scheme in the Oxford Delegacy's report to Convocation for the year ending September 1920. London also encourages a four years' course of connected study by offering special diplomas at the end of it.

Organisation and Finance.

Features of the University Extension movement which have been most criticised will be found, for the most part, to depend on its system of organisation and finance rather than on its educational methods.

Administration is both central and local, the latter being of most importance. The Oxford University Delegacy, the Cambridge University Syndicate, and the London University Board are the central authorities which appoint lecturers, approve courses, and conduct examinations. The Oxford Delegacy, the Cambridge Syndicate, and the London Board, consist in each case of the Vice-chancellor, and from 15 to 20 graduates appointed by the university, and contain no representatives of other interests concerned.

The expenses of central organisation (*i. e.* office expenses, and the salary of the Secretary and his clerical establishment) are borne by the university; that is so far the extent of its financial liabilities, though the Royal Commission now deliberating on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge may be expected to recommend much wider utilisation of university funds for extension lectures.

Local organisation depends on committees, who may be specially brought together for the purpose, or represent

local institutions, (*e. g.* Literary and Scientific Societies, Co-operative Societies, Settlements, Public Libraries, or [Local Education Authorities]). On them, the success of the movement largely depends. They have to find the lecturer's fees, and travelling expenses, besides local expenses for lecture rooms, organisation and advertising. The fees now charged to centres by Oxford to cover lecturers' fees and travelling, loan of library, syllabuses and other incidental expenses are as follows:—

Staff-Lecturers.

Course of —

	£	s	d
6 lectures and classes	38	0	0
12 (or 10) lectures and classes	58	0	0
24 lectures and classes	108	0	0

Class A.-Lecturers.

Course of —

6 lectures and classes	32	0	0
12 (or 10) lectures and classes	50	0	0
24 lectures and classes	92	0	0

Class B.-Lecturers.

Course of —

6 lectures and classes	21	0	0
12 (or 10) lectures and classes	31	0	0
24 lectures and classes	56	0	0

Local committees can sometimes get grants from Local Education Authorities (though these are not likely to be forthcoming except for evening classes) and, under the Board of Education's "Regulations for Technical Schools, Schools of Art, and other provision for further Education," they can also obtain small subsidies from the Board of Education. But the Board's requirements are difficult to meet, and the amount offered has not in the past been large enough to tempt many local Secretaries to undertake the clerical labour necessary to secure it.

In general, University Extension has so far been self-supporting, *i. e.*, all expenses (except for central administration) have had to be met by local subscriptions and the fees for admission to lectures, which are accordingly high. Such a financial situation has had good and bad results which will be examined later.

The above sketch of organisation applies only to the three oldest universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, which are responsible for most of the University Extension Lectures in.

England. Organisation by the northern Universities, and the University Colleges is somewhat different. Their scope is much more local, and the committees they appoint to organise Extension Lectures usually include persons from outside the universities who are interested in the movement. Thus at Leeds the same Joint Committee is responsible for both Extension Lectures and Tutorial Classes. The Adult Education Committee's report recommended (v. p. 33) "That there should be established at each university a department of extra-mural education with an academic head. The extra-mural authority should be the Tutorial Classes Joint Committee and the Extension Board or Delegacy meeting in joint session. It is desirable that the latter should be strengthened by the representation of different types of non-academic interests." This system of organisation by two co-ordinated joint committees is being adopted by the Nottingham University College, an extract from whose scheme for a new department of Extra-mural Adult Education will be found in Appendix B.

Similar systems of organisation have been, or seem likely to be, adopted by the other northern Universities, unless they, like Leeds, find it possible to work with one University Joint Committee for both extension lectures and tutorial classes. The chief attractions of this system are its simplicity, and its avoidance of the unfortunate distinction which has gradually grown up between the extension lecture system as a middle class institution, and the tutorial class system as a working class institution. The only difficulty in adopting such a system seems to be the strong position in the organisation and control of tutorial classes which the W. E. A. has won, and seems more desirous to strengthen than to share with other agencies.

We have only space briefly to consider *how far the University Extension methods, as used by Cambridge, Oxford, and London, have succeeded in attaining the chief aspirations of its founders, which were apparently four:—*

- (1) To provide Higher Education for Women.
- (2) To provide Higher Education for Working People.
- (3) To stimulate intellectual interest.
- (4) To encourage intensive study.

The first two aims were specially in the mind of Professor Stuart, the first University Extension lecturer. Provision for the higher education of women was then an urgent need, and in meeting it his method has been singularly successful. The University Extension movement has proved of special value to women, and they have usually outnumbered men at lectures and classes. At

the present day, with a better provision of women's colleges, the need is less urgent, but still exists; extension lectures may continue to appeal more widely to women than men, for many intelligent women will always be prevented by domestic ties from satisfying their intellectual needs by whole-time attendance at universities and colleges.

As an agency for providing higher education for the working classes the extension system has been less successful. In some places, particularly in the north of England, it has been, and still is, highly successful in this direction, but on the whole it has appealed more strongly to the middle classes, who perhaps needed it less. We have seen how much depended on the local committees, and how much of the financial burden fell on local centres. This responsibility was a stimulating test of their keenness and capacity. The effort to start and keep unsubsidised lectures going helped people to value them and was at first a source of real strength to the movement. But the financial conditions tended to exclude the poorer classes, and to leave the direction and support of the lectures to people with more money. Hence the unfortunate but wide-spread impression that extension lectures are a middle-class institution.

Though it is recognised that the system has, for the above reasons, partially failed in one of the most important of its aims, the failure was far from complete and was on the whole a glorious failure. It stimulated and helped the working men's colleges and the W. E. A. to their more successful adventures in working class education, and it has produced from the working classes educationalists like Mr. Mansbridge, the founder of the W. E. A., and Mr. Joseph Owen, one of the Board of Education's inspectors of Tutorial Classes. Mr. Alfred Cobham, in an essay on "A Student's Experiences" (in the recently published volume of Cambridge Essays in Adult Education) introduces himself as a "working man, a craftsman with a lifelong experience of the wage-earning class," and continues "I know the difficulties and soul destroying conditions of many of the workers. I know the oppression and languor of unvarying toil at uninteresting and unpleasant tasks, the jading weariness of repeating the same mechanical movements every minute for fourteen hours a day, month after month, year by year. I know what it is to see my boyhood and youth pass away without any opportunity for education such as the Forster Act gave those of later birth. For twenty-five years I have lived in a University Extension atmosphere, doing University

Extension work, and it has brought into my life a great joy which is ample justification for my plea for wide-spread adult education."

The inventors of University Extension tried to devise a method capable of attaining two very different educational ends. On the one hand it was to excite a thirst for knowledge and an interest in great thinkers and intellectual movements; on the other hand to give opportunities for intensive study, and inculcate the need for scientific precision, the weighing of pros and cons, and earnest search for truth. The more popular lecture was specially designed for the first aim; the discussion class, library and essay-writing for the second. Different supporters and exponents of the method have tended to stress one aim or the other according to their individual propensities.

It is a common criticism that the Oxford Delegacy (which during and since the secretaryships of Sir Michael Sadler and Mr. J. A. R. Marriot, M. P., has mainly provided short six-lecture courses) devotes itself principally to the extensive aim, while Cambridge and London have been more faithful to the intensive. Though neither aim has ever been forgotten, and though the affiliation schemes noticed above were specially devised to encourage intensive study, it is true that financial conditions have unduly encouraged the extensive, to the disadvantage of the intensive work of the movement. The lecturers, to pay their way, had to attract large audiences. The desire of a few earnest students for connected and systematic instruction had often to be sacrificed to this necessity. Short courses appealing to a wide variety of interests were found to pay best, and had to be provided. Again it has often been necessary to arrange lectures in the winter afternoons to meet the convenience of well-to-do subscribers instead of in the evening, the only time possible for many working-class students, who needed them more and would have been more inclined for serious class-work. Hence the common though erroneous belief that the extension movement simply provides "popular" lectures, and the anxiety of its supporters to defend it from this imputation.

The imputation has been more common since the success of the W. E. A. tutorial class method (largely derived from that of university extension and specially devised for intensive study) has invited comparison between the two systems, and attracted a number of distinguished tutors with a special bent for systematic instruction of serious students. Yet the fact remains that the University Extension method is singularly well adapted for

combining the intensive and extensive aims, and it is doubtful whether any better method could be devised for the double purpose. It seems probable that the extensive aim will continue to predominate and that, just as "Summer Meetings" have served chiefly to stimulate intellectual interest, and "Summer Schools" to offer facilities for study, the former will be the special (though far from the only) function of extension lectures, the latter that of the tutorial classes.

I have found much difference of opinion among those most qualified to decide the question whether extension lectures should be considered an end in themselves or only worth providing as "pioneer" preparation for tutorial classes. Personally I have no doubt that they are well worth providing even when they are not likely to lead to more intensive methods of study. There are two common types of mind among potential adult students, which have been classified as the "extension lecture type," and the "tutorial class type," and both should be catered for. There exists in England at present an unfortunate tendency to regard one method as peculiarly middle-class, the other as peculiarly working class. The class distinction should, if possible, be broken down and educational facilities of the kind most suited to each individual should be provided, without regard for social distinctions.

The success of the Oxford, Cambridge, and London extension lectures seems likely to depend largely in future on the interdependent factors of organisation and finance. The central Extension Delegacy, Syndicate or Board would probably be strengthened by non-academic representatives, and the organisation of most local centres certainly requires strengthening by representatives of working-class interests.

Financial independence, healthy as it once was, is becoming impossible for most local centres. The Oxford Delegacy's Report for the year ending September 1920 notices that "The increase in the cost of providing courses owing to the rise in the scale of lecturers' fees, in travelling expenses, in printing, and in local expenses, make it almost imperative in some centres that the local committees should seek for co-operation with the Education Authorities," and the same Delegacy's Calendar for 1920-21 contains, for the information of local committees, advice on how to obtain grants from the Board of Education and from Local Education Authorities.

Recommendations of the Adult Education Committee.

The Adult Education Committee made the following recommendations dealing with the organisation and finance of University Extension Lectures :—

Universities.

- (a) The provision of a liberal education for adult students should be regarded by universities as a normal and necessary part of their functions.
- (b) The expenditure of universities upon the provision of teaching for adult students should be largely increased and universities should apply a larger proportion of their revenues to the promotion of adult education.
- (c) University expenditure upon extra-mural education should be facilitated by more liberal assistance to universities from public authorities, both national and local.
- (d) Universities should employ a larger and more adequately paid staff of tutors and lecturers, and should see that the officers concerned with the administration of extra-mural education (when such officers are employed) are properly remunerated and supplied with adequate clerical assistance.*

Local Authorities.

(a) It is imperative that Local Education Authorities should take a large and important place in the development of adult education. The increasing co-operation of local authorities is a vital need, and non-vocational adult education should be regarded as an integral part of their activities.

(b) Universities should allocate funds to extra-mural adult education in such a way that those concerned may know in advance the amount of the income upon which they can rely.

We suggest that Local Authorities should give substantial assistance to university tutorial classes, courses of extension lectures, and to the salaries and expenses of resident tutors.

* "The lecturers are university men and women, tested and appointed by the university, chosen by the local committees from lists sent down to them. In the case of the newest universities the lecturers as a rule are members of the internal staff. In the older universities this is usually not the case. The greater part of the lecturing is done by men who are engaged in other activities while a few have adopted extension work as a career. The latter are not recognised as part of the university staff, neither are they as closely in touch with the university as is desirable. If the best results are to be obtained there must be a constant supply of lecturers who are not only good lecturers but first-rate teachers, imbued with missionary zeal, in touch with modern life and thought and in constant contact with the universities. This supply, we are informed, has at the present time run nearly dry, and the movement has suffered accordingly. The chief reason of this, no doubt, is that university extension lecturing does not offer a career." (Adult Education Committee's Report, pp 187-188.)

(e) It is suggested that state-grants should be paid in respect of university extension lectures, provided that the lectures form a continuous course consisting ordinarily of 10 or more lectures, and also that adequate arrangements are made for class work.

These or similar changes would effect the improvement needed in the conditions under which University Extension lectures are now conducted, and greatly widen their scope and usefulness.

The provision of popular public lectures is an important feature of the extra-mural activities of all English universities. The following, for example, were arranged during the past winter by the University of Leeds :—

Single Lectures (free.)

Drake and the New World; The Life and Works of Tolstoi; Three great Master Painters of Spain; Mr. John Galsworthy will read his play "The Foundations"; Hinduism and Progress; India Past and Present; The Pilgrim Fathers; Bolshevik Russia as I know it; Scientific and Technological Education in the United States; Mount Ida; The Reconstruction of Russia; What is Bolshevism? Plant Autographs and their Revelations; Education in the New Era; England and Italy in the New Age; Belgium under German Occupation; Moscow and its History; Song and Lecture recital; The Soul of Russia; The Crisis in Tolstoi's Life; Gallipoli 1919; The New Movement in Scottish Education; Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony in the War; The Career and Influence of Professor Madame Kevalefski; Industrial Combinations: (1) The Economic Aspect. (2) The Legal Aspect.

Short Courses (free).

School of Russian Studies; Lectures on Art: Some features of Life and Thought in the Apostolic Age; Life and Works of Tolstoi.

Short Courses. (Admission by payment.)

The Development of Modern Astronomy; The Origin and present Condition of the Earth; Heat Production; Chinese Art and Literature: The Medieval Mind in Music; Music and its Appreciation; Lectures on Coal Gas and Fuel Industries with Metallurgy; A Course in Geography; Bible Study (The Wisdom Literature of Israel).

The University also provided a number of concerts and pianoforte recitals.

CHAPTER IV

The Workers' Educational Association and Tutorial Classes.

The Worker's Educational Association.

The most striking features of the history of Adult Education in England during the last decade are the increased support of Universities, the Board of Education, and Local Education Authorities, and a marked improvement in the quantity and quality of the work being done. For this progress the W. E. A. is largely responsible, for it first provided the machinery for working-class associations to co-operate with Universities in providing instruction of a sufficiently high standard to have a strong claim on State-aid; and it also developed, from University extension methods, the Tutorial Class method which has resulted in a remarkable increase in adult education, and in the modern tendency to prefer classes to lectures.

It is now pretty generally admitted that the provision of a liberal education for adult students should be regarded by Universities as a normal and necessary part of their functions. (Adult Edn. Committee's report, p. 169). The wide acceptance of this axiom is largely due to the reports of the Royal Commission on London University (1913) and on University Extension in Wales, and of the Adult Education Committee (1919), while the report of the Royal Commission now sitting on Oxford and Cambridge Universities is expected to lead public opinion even further in the same direction; these reports have been influenced by the achievements and propaganda of the W. E. A. and by the evidence supplied by its friends and representatives. The W. E. A. is in one way or another behind most of the progress of the decade.

Its subscribers and individual members include all classes of the community, but its main strength lies in its affiliated societies among which are included educational and philanthropic societies as well as trades unions and co-operative societies. It is, to quote from its latest annual report, "non-party in politics and non-sectarian in that its relations with other organisations are limited to such mutual activities as further its aims and objects."

These aims have been re-stated with amplifications from time to time, but have varied little. In 1907, they were

thus simply defined: "To promote the higher education of working men primarily by the extension of university teaching, also (a) by the assistance of all working class efforts of a specifically educational character, (b) by the development of an efficient school continuation system." They are re-stated rather differently in the Association's latest annual report (1921). "First; To awake interest in education, to create a public understanding of its true meaning and purpose, and to advocate changes in the national system of education in conformity with the ideals of the Association. Second; the organisation of facilities for adult education with a non-vocational aim. In organising and providing facilities for adult education, the Association keeps in view the three main needs of working men and women; the provision of—

(a) Facilities of a literary, scientific and recreative character.

(b) Facilities for a general understanding of the character and problems of social life and citizenship.

(c) Special facilities for equipping them to share in the most effective way in the activities of the various organisations of which they are members."

The changes in this latest statement are interesting for reasons which will be briefly considered later.

The Association's monthly magazine is fittingly called the Highway because its founders aimed at an educational "Highway" instead of the traditional "Ladder" for the children of the poor.

Mr. Albert Mansbridge, founder of the Association, its Secretary from 1903 till 1915, and now Chairman of the World Association for Adult Education, tells its story in "An Adventure in Working Class Education" (Longmans 1920), a compellingly interesting narrative which should be read by every person who wishes to appreciate the true spirit and success of the movement. Unfortunately the limits of this report will only permit of a very brief summary of the story.

The W. E. A. is the child of the University Extension and Co-operative movements. Towards the close of the nineteenth century many leading university men, (among them James Stuart, Arnold Toynbee, and later Dr. Sadler (Secretary to the Oxford Extension Delegacy, and later Director of Special Inquiries and Reports to the Board of Education) and Mr. Hudson Shaw (University Extension lecturer), were feeling their way to co-operation between labour and the universities. The first constructive suggestions happily came from the other side, from Mr. Mansbridge, and Mr. Robert Halstead (Secretary of the Co-operative Production Union and formerly a weaver by

trade). Mr. Mansbridge informs us that he was "brought up from a child in a Co-operative and Trades Union atmosphere" and was during the early nineties a University Extension Student. In 1897 he was an employé of the Co-operative Wholesale Society and teaching the history and principles of co-operation to an evening class of his fellow employés. Between 1899 and 1903, by speeches at Co-operative Congresses and at Oxford University Extension Summer Meetings, and by a series of articles in the University Extension Journal, he advocated a working alliance between Co-operation, Trade Unionism, and University Extension.

In 1903 the W. E. A. was founded, and, after a conference at Oxford attended by representatives of nearly all the universities and many labour organisations, a strong joint committee of trades unionists, co-operators and university men was appointed to develop its work. Branches were opened at Reading, Oxford and other places, but for some years little definite educational work was attempted. Much attention was devoted to advocating a proper provision by the State of continuation schools, and this side of the Association's propaganda prepared public opinion for the Education Act of 1918.

A conference on continuation schools at Oxford in 1905 (attended by 1,000 delegates), another large conference at London University in 1906, and the opening of other branches drew attention to the Association, and many well known labour leaders, divines, university tutors, and other educationalists supported it; among them were Canon Barnett, Dr. Percival, (Bishop of Hereford), Dr. Gore (Bishop of Oxford), Dr. Holland Rose, Mr. A. L. Smith, The Revd. W. Hudson Shaw, Sir W. Anson, Mr. R. H. Tawney, (the first W. E. A. class-tutor), and Mr. A. E. Zimmern. Dr. Temple (now Bishop of Manchester) became its first President and was re-elected in 1920.

During 1906 two experimental tutorial classes were started with the help of the Oxford University Extension Authorities at Rochdale and Longtown. In 1907 a crowded and animated conference of working class organisations and educationalists at Oxford, remarkable for plain speaking on both sides, passed a resolution for a "Joint Committee," of 7 members nominated by the vice-chancellor and 7 members nominated by the W. E. A. to report on the extension of facilities for higher education for the workers.

The recommendations in its report (now out of print) dealt with:—teaching beyond the limits of the University (tutorial

classes), the admission of working class students to Oxford, the position and payment of teachers, the authority for organising working class education, Ruskin College, diplomas and examinations in connection with tutorial classes, and a special enquiry department.

All its recommendations did not bear fruit, but the fittest survived. The Oxford University Extension Delegacy set up a joint committee of W. E. A. and University representatives to provide tutorial classes, and it arranged six more classes in 1908. In 1908 and 1909 Cambridge, London, and Manchester set up similar joint committees and started tutorial classes. In a few years all the Universities and University Colleges in England and Wales followed, and W. E. A. tutorial classes became the most important method of English University Extension.

The growth of the W. E. A.'s branches and classes can be seen at a glance in the following tables:—

Statistics of W. E. A. development in the British Isles.

YEAR.	BRANCHES.	AFFILIATED BODIES.	INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS.
1904	* *	12	135
1905	8	100	1,000
1906	13	283	2,612
1907	47	622	4,343
1908	50	925	5,257
1909	54	1,124	5,484
1910	71	1,389	5,801
1911	86	1,541	5,345
1912	110	1,879	7,011
1913	158	2,164	8,723
1914	179	2,555	11,430
1915	173	2,409	11,083
1916	170	2,150	10,667
1917	191	2,336	10,750
1918	209	2,709	14,697
1919	219	2,526	17,136
1920	277	2,760	20,703
1921	317	2,896	23,880

Analysis of the Affiliated Bodies in 1914 and 1919.

YEAR.	TRADE UNION, COUNCILS, AND BRANCHES.	CO- OPERA- TIVE COM- MITTEES.	UNIVER- SITY BODIES.	ADULT SCHOOLS AND CLASSES.	LOCAL EDUCA- TION AU- THORITI- ES.	WORKING MEN'S CLUBS.	GENERAL.
1915 .	958	388	15	341	16	175	66
1919 .	1,075	384	8	199	35	100	677

*University Tutorial Class statistics in England and Wales.
(Three-year classes).*

YEAR.	CLASSES.	STUDENTS.
1908-09	8	237
1909-10	39	1,117
1910-11	72	1,829
1911-12	102	2,485
1912-13	117	3,176
1913-14	145	3,234
1914-15	152	3,110
1915-16	121	2,414
1916-17	199	1,996
1917-18	121	2,860
1918-19	152	3,799
1919-20	229	5,320
1920-21	293	6,820

During 1918-19 there were 145 one year tutorial classes with 2,170 students; during 1919-20 they increased to 328 with 7,118 students, in 1920-21 to 463, with 12,474 students.

Until 1915 an annual general meeting, at which all members, societies, branches, and districts had the right of representation, closely controlled the Workers' Educational Association's policy through a Central Executive Committee, and approved all decisions of importance. It became more and more difficult to deal with increasing business at the congested general meeting and in 1915 its functions were transferred to a Central Council consisting of representatives from affiliated bodies and districts. The annual meeting became a convention with no governing power. Many

members regret that they can now only indirectly affect the association's policy through their district representative, and the comparative aloofness of the new central authority caused some loss of the early enthusiasm among the rank and file. But the change was inevitable owing to the wide growth of the association's activities.

At the head-quarters of each district (Eastern, London, E. Midland, W. Midland, North Eastern, North Western, West Lancashire, South Eastern, South Western, Yorkshire, Welsh, Scotland) there is a whole time District Secretary whose office is often to be found in the local University or University College buildings. The branches all have Secretaries (on whom the success of classes largely depends) and are supported by affiliated societies as well as by individual members.

The Workers' Educational Association's activities include, besides the provision of classes, that of single lectures, study circles, conferences, and summer schools; it has at Holybrooke House a country rest home and educational centre; it continues its teaching and propaganda in favour of continuation schools, prepares evidence for Royal Commissions on Education, and has recently sent up "vigilance committees" in many parts of the country to see that the 1918 Education Act does not become a dead letter.

The typical Workers' Educational Association organiser is a very practical enthusiast and an opportunist for the most part who has not time to look very far ahead. There is now a tendency at head-quarters to stress the importance of working class control rather than that of co-operation between working class agencies and university authorities which has proved so successful in the past. The change in statement of aims noticed on pages 35 and 36 is also significant and may be partly due to the increasing influence of trade unionism (*vide* p. 16 ch. 2) on the Association.

Its recent rapprochement with the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee will, it is hoped, do much to relieve the financial difficulties by which the Association's administration has long been increasingly handicapped. Trust funds and individuals commonly give money towards definite educational facilities but rarely towards the organisation and administration of a voluntary agency responsible for them.

The Association's cordial co-operation with Universities has secured it a large measure of public support and confidence. It is wise to guard jealously the principle of working class control on

which the success of tutorial classes has so largely depended, but any tendency to grudge Universities their present share in organisation and control is probably to be deprecated.

The best Workers' Educational Association students want impartial teaching, and working men for this reason have often rejected classes offered by the Labour College, which "promises to be candid, but not impartial." To serious working class students the "university spirit" and the "Workers' Educational Association spirit" have so far stood for the same thing, an impartial search for truth. The Association's marked usefulness in the past has depended on its ability to create such students and to cater for their needs by close co-operation with Universities. Its future usefulness will probably depend largely on the same factors.

University Tutorial Classes and One Year Classes.

General characteristics.

Nearly all University Tutorial classes in England continue for three years and are organised by the Workers' Educational Association through University Joint Committees, though a certain number, which is likely to increase, are provided by University Joint Committees to meet the demand of other voluntary Agencies. One year classes conducted on similar lines are usually supposed to be of a "pioneer" nature, and to aim at developing into a full tutorial class, though this is by no means always the case.

Many one year classes have been started without the Workers' Educational Association's help; but all (except those for which the labour colleges at London and Glasgow are responsible) have adopted the Workers' Educational Association method. Their general aim is the same, to do for the many what Ruskin Hall is doing for the few, to provide higher education according to the best university traditions for those who desire facilities for study while pursuing their everyday employment.

Subjects studied.

The Workers' Educational Association prides itself on never having confused education with the means of getting on in life, and therefore leaves technical education to other agencies, (in practice usually the L. E. A.), and devotes itself to the universal need, liberal education.*

* This need for liberal rather than vocational study is widely expressed today not only by adult students in tutorial classes but by those who attend extension lectures, Ruskin Hall, the Settlements, the Labour College, and classes provided by the Y. M. C. A. and other voluntary agencies.

Though the W. E. A. classes are always non-vocational, W. E. A. students naturally prefer at first subjects connected with living interests which will help them to perform their duties as citizens and as members of the various organisations to which they belong. Hence the predominance of the social sciences in the classes. The normal course of study in a tutorial class seems to be: the first year, Economic History; the second year, Economic science; the third year, Modern Social and Economic problems. This choice may be regarded as natural and healthy if we accept the Adult Education Committee's opinion that the education of an adult whose formal instruction ceased at the age of fourteen 'must work from his existing avocations and interests, must begin by answering his existing inquiries and perplexities, and go on to the satisfaction of his aspirations'. The predominance of Economics has, however, been deplored by many true friends of the tutorial class movement as prejudicial to its full educational usefulness.

It is a happy sign that, after a time, W. E. A. students often bear witness to their appreciation of the unity of knowledge by demanding a change from what I have heard a W. E. A. district Secretary describe as "the bread and butter studies". Classes in English literature, musical appreciation, biology, natural science, and history, are in increasing demand. In mining villages near Nottingham I saw classes on the history of the British Commonwealth, the history of civilisation, historical biography, and modern geography. The increasingly varied nature of the subjects taught may be seen from the following tables relating to W. E. A. tutorial classes (3 years) and one year classes running during the year 1919-1920.

Tutorial Classes.

SUBJECT.	No. of classes.
Economics and Industrial History	97
Sociology, Psychology, Philosophy, etc.	46
Literature.	44
History.	25
Local Government, Constitutional Questions, etc.	5
Music.	5
Biology.	5
Greek History and Literature.	2

One Year Classes.

SUBJECTS.	
Economics and Industrial History	137
Literature	74
Political Science, Psychology and Philosophy	58
General History.	9
Music.	14
French.	8
Natural Science.	7
Miscellaneous.	21
	<hr/> 328 <hr/>

Organisation and Method.

The following quotations from the prospectus for the winter of 1920-1921 issued by the Nottingham University College's Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes give a clear sketch of tutorial class organisation and method, which vary very little throughout the country :—

“ A tutorial class does not prepare students for a degree or for a profession ; it aims at that intellectual strength which can only come from knowledge and from the power of self-expression. But intellectual development means greater social usefulness ; and students who pass through a tutorial class must be more useful members of the community and of their own organisations.

The aim is to make the work of University standard ; students and tutor work together to maintain this level, and each makes his own contribution to the study of the subject.

The number of students in a Tutorial Class is limited ; no class may begin with more than 32 ; and 18 suitable students may form a class, though not less than 24 is desirable.

The class meets weekly for 24 lessons from September to March in three successive winters. Each class lasts for two hours*, the first being devoted to a lecture by the tutor, the second to questions and free discussions. Essays are set, and these are carefully marked by the tutor and returned ; they should be kept by the student. The tutor talks over the essays with the students individually when opportunity allows.

Every student signs an undertaking to attend regularly and punctually for three winters, and to do the essay work. This is

*In a scheme for about 30 village classes (whose tutors are usually unpaid ex-tutorial class students) organised before the war by a Miners' Higher Education Committee in the north of Staffordshire, the teaching period is usually an hour and a half instead of two hours ; 45 to 60 minutes is given to the lecture, the rest to discussion. This seems to me more suitable to pioneer classes in England, and more likely to prove suitable in India.

necessary in order that the Committee may have some guarantee that the grant will be earned before undertaking the financial risk ; but it is understood that unavoidable causes, such as overtime, illness, official duties, or absence from home, may prevent a student carrying out his pledge.

Tutorial Classes are self-governing, and their success lies largely with the members themselves. The principles which govern them are comradeship in study, the search for truth before all things, and tolerance in controversial matters. The second hour is the students' own, and should be fully utilised. All difficulties should be raised ; and members can often bring valuable contributions to the discussion from first-hand practical experience. When the tutor does not know any thing on which information is desired, he says so, and, with the help of the students, sets himself to find out, if that be possible.

The essay work is felt by some of the students to be a serious obstacle, but it need not be so. It is realised that most students have had none but elementary schooling, and little practice in writing since ; but experience shows that, when once the first steps have been taken, regularity soon brings enormous improvement.

If for any reason essays are not sent in at the proper time, they may be received by the tutor later in the session or up to the end of June. Long essays involving much reading may count as more than one.

"The class fees are low, usually not exceeding 4/- for the 24 lessons of one winter. The only other expenses are a text book costing a few shillings, and essay paper.

The Extra-mural Department of the College has a loan library especially for these Classes ; and books for further reading can also be obtained from other sources.

"The Classes are open to men and women equally, though classes for one sex alone can be formed if desired."

One-year Preparatory Classes.

Where a centre is not strong enough to form a Tutorial Class immediately, the joint committee is prepared to provide facilities for a One-year Class on similar lines to prepare the way for a Tutorial Class in the following session. These Classes are not subject to the same restrictions as regards numbers, and the standard of the work need not be so high as for a Tutorial Class. But, on the other hand, one-year classes earn much lower grants.

These Classes must be regarded as leading definitely to full Tutorial classes.

Organisation of Classes.

Briefly, the W. E. A. or some other working class association organises the demand, *i. e.*, finds the students, is responsible for the Class finances, and pays a fee to the joint Committee; the joint Committee organises the supply, *i. e.*, finds a tutor and administers the educational side of the work.

Classes may be formed by a branch of the Workers' Educational Association, by some other organisation, or by a special Committee formed for the purpose and composed wholly or largely of workpeople.

The local Committee ascertains the demand in its district, sometimes calling a conference of representatives of organisations for the purpose, collects a sufficient number of students, and applies to the joint Committee for a tutor.

As far as possible, the Class chooses its subject of study, and the day and hour of meeting.

Finance.

(a) Tutorial Class. For a Tutorial Class, the local Committee pays a minimum fee of £55 to the joint Committee, and is also responsible for the purely local expenses. The fee to the joint Committee does not cover the cost, and may be increased if increased grants are obtained under (2) and (3) below.

The sources of income available for the local Committee are :—

- (1) Students' fees.
- (2) Grant from the Board of Education. (This will probably be paid direct to the joint Committee, and will then be credited to the local Committee.) A Tutorial Class maintaining a reasonable standard of regularity in attendance, etc., earns a grant of £45 per year.
- (3) Grant from the Local Education Authority. This must be applied for in each case, and is purely optional on the part of the Local Education Authorities, though most of them do give a grant to these Classes. The Workers' Educational Association district may
 - make the application.
- (4) In some cases, grants from an Educational Trust, or from the Education Committee of a Co-operative Society, or from some other organisation can be obtained.

Ordinarily (2) and (3) suffice for the joint Committee fee, and (1) for the local expenses; while (4) is in some cases an alternative or supplement to (3).

The Local Education Authority will nearly always give the use of room, light, etc., free.

(b) *One-Year Preparatory Classes.*

The same sources of income exist as for a Tutorial Class, the difference being that the Board of Education grant is much less. Instead of a block grant of £45 a year, the Board pays from 5s. to 10s. for each completed 20 hours of attendance. No student counts for grant who attends less than 14 hours.

The joint Committee pays the tutor's fee and expenses, and the cost is debited to the local Committee, which is required to make up the difference between the grants earned and the costs incurred.

For a One-year Preparatory Class, equal in average numbers and attendance to a Tutorial Class, in which students do a reasonable amount of essay work, the joint Committee is prepared to take responsibility for half the difference between grants earned and the tutor's fee and expenses."

The absence of examinations and diplomas will strike any observer accustomed to Indian educational methods. The University Extension Authorities considered them a valuable, if not essential, stimulus to intellectual effort and have accordingly instituted examinations and certificates in connection with nearly all their courses and have elaborated the Oxford and Cambridge affiliation schemes and the London schemes for diplomas in the humanities. The first Joint Committee at Oxford in 1911 recommended, under the influence of Extension Lecture traditions, examinations and diplomas in connection with Tutorial Classes. But the Workers' Educational Association has shown a sturdier faith in education for its own sake. Its decision to reject academic suggestions for examinations and diplomas was, I think, a sound one. The absence of examinations allows a tutor more freedom to give his best to his class, and encourages more intensive study of special features of certain subjects than would be possible if a prescribed syllabus had to be covered.

The Adult Education Committee's report notices the comparatively small number of Extension Lecture students who obtain diplomas and certificates and records the following opinion:—"We do not think that the intellectual level reached in the

University Extension movement can in any way be gauged by the number of students obtaining certificates, nor do we believe that the quality of the work done would be substantially improved by any extension in systematisation of such awards."

Democratic Class Management and University atmosphere.

Before I visited a number of University Tutorial and one-year classes I was full of curiosity as to the exact effects of their traditions of "Democratic" management and "University" atmosphere. I was especially curious as to how what has been variously called the "University," the "Academic", or the "Workers' Educational Association" spirit would manifest itself in pioneer one-year classes consisting mainly of students who were, for the first time in their lives, systematically grappling with difficult intellectual problems.

W. E. A. literature continually insists on its students' free choice of tutor, subject, and method of treatment. In practice, however, the Workers' Educational Association student has little more freedom in such matters than other adult students attending extension lectures, Young Men's Christian Association or any other classes. The local branch has to choose at the beginning of the winter from the joint Committees' necessarily limited list of subjects and tutors, and having chosen cannot change till the following winter. The tutor usually gets his class to approve his syllabus, but even Workers' Educational Association students have not much chance of expressing their disapproval of lecturer, syllabus, or methods except by non-attendance (which is the right of any adult student except in armies or penitentiaries). In practice the vaunted right of choice can amount to little more than approval. A keen class (and keenness seems the salient characteristic of Workers' Educational Association classes) has the good sense to let its tutor express himself by the methods he finds most effective.

One of the strictest disciplinarians I have ever met in a classroom was the tutor of a one-year class, and himself a working man. His methods, though very effective, differed in many ways from the orthodox W. E. A. methods, but he was a teacher of special ability and considerable experience and his class appreciated his method.

I should not have laboured this rather obvious point did I not consider current W. E. A. literature, and even Mr. Mansbridge's book (which deserves careful study in India)

to be rather misleading to outsiders on the question of self-government by adult classes, and likely to lead to vain expectations and experiments which are neither desirable nor feasible.

The general atmosphere of W. E. A. classes is however, certainly democratic, and especially so during the discussion hour. Mr. Mansbridge quotes a Persian proverb "The lecture is one, the discussion a thousand," which might well be taken as the motto of W. E. A. tutorial classes. Its educational value depends very much on the tact of the tutor. In my experience it was nearly always animated and occasionally really interesting and stimulating. The tutor needs constant watchfulness to guard against two dangers: discursive conversation on unessentials, and long duologues either between himself and some specially gifted or argumentative member of the class, or between two such members.

The searching questions from time to time put to a tutor by members of a three-year class engaged on really intensive study of a comparatively narrow field of knowledge are a severe tax on the tutor's learning and memory. He therefore needs a more thorough knowledge of his subject than a mere lecturer. Perhaps the most valuable feature of the discussion hour is that it always keeps before W. E. A. classes their two distinctive ideals of self-government and the "University" spirit.

The "University" or "W. E. A." spirit means to W. E. A. students the spirit of thoroughness and impartiality condemned as "academic" by the Labour College propaganda. It is well interpreted by the following passage from the Adult Education Committee's report:—"It is perhaps true to say that the essence of the best academic spirit is a willingness to face facts, to discard cherished theories when fuller evidence makes them no longer tenable, to suspend judgment upon matters upon which certainty is unattainable, to welcome criticisms and to hear difference of opinion with tolerance. Few of the undergraduates who have spent three years in a university are scholars, and fewer still, of course, are qualified to make any addition to knowledge themselves. But, in so far as they have taken advantage of their opportunities, they ought to have acquired a standard of thoroughness, to have become accustomed to reading books in a spirit of enquiring criticism, not of mere acquiescence, and to have obtained some idea of the foundations upon which knowledge reposes and the methods by which it is advanced, they ought to be able to weigh evidence, follow and

criticise an argument, to put their own value on authorities, and to prefer sober truth to pretentious superficiality."

The presence of this spirit in W. E. A. classes is a very real thing. It impressed me more than anything else not only while watching W. E. A. classes but in conversation with the students. The phrase "a new angle of approach" became almost wearisome by repetition, varied opinions and criticism were always welcomed. In fact this tendency was often embarrassing to a guest attending for instruction, not to instruct, for I often found myself consulted as an Anglo-Burman on Indian and other subjects, and so dragged willy nilly into the general discussion.

The spirit of impartiality and earnest search for truth was (probably largely through the explanatory addresses by W. E. A. missionaries which usually precede the opening of a class) noticeable even in the rawest and newest classes. I am convinced that the W. E. A. interpretation of the "University spirit" and its assimilation of that spirit are the finest features of the movement and the most deserving of imitation in other countries.

Quality of work.

"The aim" according to the Nottingham prospectus quoted above "is to make the work of University standard" and one of the Board of Education's regulations for grants to Tutorial classes is as follows:—"The instruction must aim at reaching, within the limits of the subjects covered, the standard of University work in honours." Comparisons between the work of extra-mural and internal students, though not of much definite value, are interesting. In a report to the Board of Education on Tutorial classes in 1909-10 two of His Majesty's Inspectors, after pointing out the difficulty of such comparisons (especially the difference in "general literary education" on the one side and "maturity of mind and grip of reality" on the other) arrived at this conclusion: "if we are to make the comparison, we may perhaps put it that the essays of the first-year students run from very elementary beginnings up to a matriculation standard, and those of later years advance in proportion. The best third-year students would, we think, be quite in a position to read for the Oxford diploma in economics, and would probably, after a year's full work, obtain it without difficulty. Here and there work of a still higher standard is to be found." The same report pays a tribute to the "quality of candour and detachment in the pursuit of knowledge." Another authority considers that "in the field of history, economics, and moral and political philosophy the work of Tutorial Classes is on the average

above pass standard and under favourable circumstances is of honour standard." My own limited experience inclines me to consider the first of these two estimates as perhaps the most reliable.

A tutor with considerable experience of both intra-mural and extra-mural work told me that he preferred the latter, not only because it afforded greater freedom to impart the result of research which had not yet found its way into examination syllabuses, but because on the whole it was of a higher standard.

I was much impressed by the striking difference between individual students in the same class, one of the chief difficulties with which the tutor has to contend. This was specially noticeable in one-year classes, about which, owing to their increasing importance and their special interest to India, something more must now be said.

One-Year Classes.

Though the first Joint Committee at Oxford in 1907 recommended two years classes, the Board of Education from the first offered a specially liberal grant to classes taking a three years course. This regulation has perhaps unduly discouraged shorter courses. Though financially handicapped, they have during last winter increased remarkably, as the figures on page 39 will show. In the East Riding of Yorkshire, where practically no classes existed till last winter, co-operation with the Local Education Authority, the liberality of a group of Yorkshiresmen, and the W. E. A. capacity for seizing an opportunity have resulted in a large increase of one-year and shorter pioneer classes.

The W. E. A. has long pressed for more liberal aid from the Board of Education to one-year classes, and the Adult Education Committee made definite recommendation in the same direction (v. Report p. 176.) The marked increase of one year classes in spite of their financial difficulties seems a sure sign of their popularity and usefulness. Personally I have no doubt that they are the best suited to the average adult student, and I am inclined to think that, of all methods of University adult education in England, they will prove at the outset the most suitable for imitation in India.

The Nottingham prospectus states that they "must be regarded as leading definitely to full tutorial classes"; but in Yorkshire and elsewhere they are regarded, wisely I think, as an end in themselves. There are many signs that the full three-year tutorial class appeals only to a somewhat limited class of serious

students. Such students have often attended classes on connected and co-ordinated subjects for twelve years in succession, but they are comparatively rare. To realise its potentialities, the tutorial class movement will have to cater for the less strenuous type of mind, which prefers more variety, and wisely hesitates before pledging itself to study one subject for three winters on end.

A one-year class ordinarily makes a much less serious call on a tutor's energies and knowledge than a three-years class, and some difference in remuneration is therefore justifiable. The classes I saw were taught, mostly by Secondary Schoolmasters. (who must benefit greatly by the change of work) or by tutorial class students of long experience, who were well qualified to undertake the work. The extra-mural university teacher, like the college lecturer, gets no special training in the technique of his profession, and it would perhaps be beneficial if practical instruction in method, as well as subject matter, was stressed in the special schools of instruction which are being provided in many places for one-year tutors. The duty of "hammering in" at least something definite at each lecture, the use of a detailed syllabus, to save repetition and check digression, the value of a black-board summary, the proper use of a text-book, the sketching of maps and diagrams should obviously figure in such courses of instruction. Essay-writing is not obligatory in one-year classes, and very little had been done in those I visited. A more serious defect in "pioneer classes" was the general absence of text-books, but this was probably a temporary difficulty to be explained by the increased cost of books, uncertainty of employment, and the reluctance of many house-wives to see more good money spent on what they vaguely consider trade-union objects.

Most classes have now a good supply of books dealing with their subjects supplied in boxes either from special libraries maintained by University extra-mural departments, or by the Central library for students in London, which is supported by the Carnegie and other Trusts, as well as by voluntary contributions. During the year ending February 1920, it made 15,000 issues for periods varying up to six months each. The provision of books for tutorial class students is always a difficult problem which will require careful consideration if such classes are started in India. Facilities for borrowing, however, should never be considered to replace the need for each student to possess at least one good text-book on his subject.

The Supply and Remuneration of Tutors must be considered—

(1) in relation to full tutorial classes.

(2) in relation to one-year classes.

(1) The proportion of (a) professors and other members of regular college staffs, (b) whole time tutors (taking 3 to 5 Tutorial classes weekly, and sometimes also some intra-mural work,) and (c) Occasional tutors taking one or more classes whose principal work is not university teaching of any kind, engaged during 1918-19 in tutorial class work can be seen from the following table : —

(a) Professors and regular staff	32 per cent.
(b) Whole time Tutors	28 „ „
(c) Occasional Tutors	40 „ „

The proportion varies greatly in different Universities and since 1918-19, owing to the great increase of undergraduates at all colleges on the one hand, and of extra-mural classes on the other, the proportion of tutors who take no intra-mural work has necessarily increased. The method of payment is a fixed fee for each class for each winter session. Before the war this fee was £80 for Oxford tutors and £60 for those employed by most other Universities. In most cases it has recently been raised, and it varies under some Universities according to qualifications and experience. The remuneration of a whole-time tutor is precarious, his status is not recognized by the University, and his work during the winter months is peculiarly exacting. Even during the summer months, on which he relies for preparation and research, he is frequently invited to help at summer and week-end schools. Propaganda and organisation also take up much of his time.

The Adult Education Committee believed (v. Report p. 124) that “though the occasional and part-time tutor will always take an important part in the work” its future success “depends largely on the maintenance of a body of teachers who make it their profession”. The report makes recommendations for improved remuneration, security, and status. It also emphasises the importance of arranging, when possible, for tutorial class teachers to combine some intra-mural with their extra-mural work.

Both the Adult Education Committee (1919) and the Royal Commission on University Education in London (1913) emphasised the necessity, in the interests of adult education, of a high standard of efficiency within the University. “Unless the University has a distinguished and properly paid body of teachers who will be constantly sending out able and well trained young graduates, the supply of teachers necessary for the conduct of

a rapidly increasing number of classes for working men and women will fail at its source." (*Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, 1913*). This warning will be worth noting if ever extra-mural University education develops in India.

(2) Tutors for one-year classes are drawn from various sources, of which exact details are unobtainable. Schoolmasters seem to predominate, there are many representatives of other professions, and an increasing number of selected ex-tutorial class students take up the work. It is surprising that the supply of teachers has at all kept up with the increasing demand. Almost all have other means of support, and many accept nominal remuneration. Their selection is one of the most difficult duties of the secretaries of University Joint Committees, and largely depends upon the flair of W. E. A. district Secretaries, who are often Joint Committees secretaries as well.

The remuneration of one-year class tutors depends as a rule on the grants available for their classes from the Board of Education and Local Education Authorities, and varies too widely for details to be of any value here. Provision of suitable remuneration for tutors of this class is, in the opinion of the Adult Education Committee, essential to future progress. It considers that "when University Joint Committees assume responsibility for one-year classes, the fees paid to tutors ought not to fall below £40 per class" (v. Report p. 134), and that "in classes which involve on the part of the teacher work which is not much less exacting than that of tutorial classes, the fee of the tutor should be higher than in the case of the classes of a less organised and less advanced character". It also recommends (v. Report pp. 173 and 177) much more liberal State aid to one-year classes provided by University Joint Committees.

The ages, occupations and public activities of Tutorial Class Students.

I saw some young people in the classes which I visited, but the majority of students seemed to be between 30 and 60 years of age. W. E. A. officials told me that this was the rule. Young people are properly interested in equipping themselves for wage-earning and largely attend Local Education Authorities' technical classes. Liberal studies have so far attracted principally adults who can bring to them mature experience of life.

Men and women attend in fairly equal proportions. The following analysis of the occupations of 3,025 tutorial class students in

1913-14 will give some idea of their occupations.

Engaged in skilled and unskilled labour	1,870
Teachers	308
Clerks and Telegraphists	623
Miscellaneous (including some clergymen and business men)	234
	<hr/>
	3,035*

Clerical workers, by the nature of their occupation feel special need for compensatory liberal education. Teachers often undertake the important duties of branch secretary, and are specially valuable members of their classes. The following figures show the public activities of the students attending four typical classes :—

Trade Union officials	16
Trade council officials	5
Officials of Political Associations	7
Directors of Co-operative Societies	6
Friendly Society officials	6
Teachers or Officials in Adult schools or Sunday schools	20
Local preachers	3
Voluntary educational workers	15

The tutor of the above classes had, after five years' work, fourteen city or borough councillors among his present or past students.

* The Highway for August 1921 gives the occupations of the 6,820 students attending three year Tutorial Classes during 1920-21 :—

Teachers	866
Miners and Quarrymen	683
Clerks, telegraphists, etc.	751
Engineers, mechanics and metal workers	865
Housewives, domestics, etc.	465
Textile, clothing, boot and shoe and other factory workers	430
Railway workers	176
Civil servants, municipal employees, postmen, tramway- men, etc.	378
Building trades, carpenters, joiners, etc.	288
Shop assistants	158
Foremen and managers	158
Insurance agents, etc.	92
Agricultural	129
Printers and Bookbinders	88
Potters	31
Miscellaneous	1,262
	<hr/>
Total	6,820

Critics of the Tutorial Class movement.

Adverse criticism of the movement comes mainly from two opposite political camps, the revolutionary labour party, and reactionary middle class conservatism. Each party suspects the movement of political propaganda opposed to its own. The "central labour" extremists do not believe in the regeneration of the Universities; to them the "academic spirit" stands for capitalist influence, and the alliance between working men and the Universities seems unnatural and impious. Conservative extremists are scared by classes of working men studying economic science, to them every such class is a hot-bed of anarchists, and they frequently confuse the aims and activities of the W. E. A. with those of the Labour College. The fact that the W. E. A. tutorial classes attract opposition from two such extreme political camps is perhaps the best guarantee of their usefulness, and of the impartial spirit in which they are conducted. (*Vide* Nottingham Prospectus quoted on page 44.)

A criticism much more worth considering comes from those who regret, on educational grounds, the preoccupation of adult students with subjects too closely connected with current social and political controversy. Will not the discussion of such subjects inevitably follow propagandist lines, and so make thorough study rare, and dispassionate inquiry impossible? This is a real difficulty which will have to be frankly faced if University extra-mural teaching is introduced in India where there would probably arise a predominant demand for instruction in the social sciences, such as has been expressed in England since the days of the Mechanics' Institutes. If we could transplant the "W. E. A. spirit" to India I do not think we need fear to meet such a demand. The Adult Education Committee's report points out repeatedly the educational value of beginning with living interests, and for adult education on a voluntary basis there is no other possible way of beginning. Controversial subjects will inevitably be discussed by the most active minds of the community and it is a gain, educationally as well as politically, to have them sifted at leisure "in an atmosphere in which a social spirit and co-operation in the search for truth predominate" (Ad. Ed. Report p. 113.) It must be the endeavour of voluntary educational agencies in India as in England to provide that atmosphere. Moreover a beginning made in the right way with the study of social sciences will lead no less surely in India than in England to widened interests and a demand for more varied subjects.

The Adult Education Committee's report considers at some length whether the State should attempt to discriminate, for the purpose of awarding grants, between education and propaganda. Probably in so doing the Committee remembered that certain Local Education Authorities, unlike the Board of Education, have (through suspicion of propaganda) failed to support W. E. A. classes. It concludes that, because public money is limited and there are many demands for it, the State "must satisfy itself that the education is serious and continuous, and because of its quality worth supporting", but "that the State should be willing to help all serious educational work, including the educational work of institutions and organisations which are recruited predominantly from students with, say, a particular religious or political philosophy". This has been the educational policy of the Government of India in the past and may be expected to be retained as the policy of the more democratic reformed Indian Governments of the future with regard to adult education as well as other forms of educational activity.

Village Classes.

The success of the W. E. A. classes in rural districts is remarkable and interesting. The rapid increase, under the Leeds University Joint Committee, of classes in the East Riding of Yorkshire mainly represents work in agricultural villages. Classes for adults are on the whole more popular and more regularly attended in villages than in towns which offer so many more attractions for a working man's leisure. The Adult Education Committee made a number of recommendations for improved facilities for adult education in English villages; they dealt among other matters with the provision of village institutes under full public control, a shortened winter session, two-year (instead of three-year) tutorial classes, and the establishment of resident tutors and lecturers.

Inspection of Tutorial Classes.

University Tutorial Classes owe much to the Board of Education's financial support. To satisfy itself that this was merited by the educational quality of their work, it has also appointed two specially selected Inspectors of Tutorial Classes. Their functions are to report on the efficiency of classes, to act as connecting links between various classes, and to provide information as to books, ideas and methods. I have had the good fortune to meet one of these inspectors on his rounds and learnt much from him about the history and development of the movement. At each visit he is in

the habit of giving brief addresses of encouragement and criticism which deal usually with educational ideals and any special defects noticed, such as methods of note-taking, and deficiency of written essays. W. E. A. officials generally recognise the valuable help which the association's tutorial class-work has received from these inspections.

National importance of the Tutorial Class movement.

The movement is so far probably only in its infancy, and may be expected to develop much more widely. It is perhaps too soon to estimate its results. The influence during the war of some thousands of tutorial class students on the British army must have been beneficial. The influence of the movement on army education during and since the war is generally admitted. The influence on trade unions of thousands of members who have passed through W. E. A. classes must, at this time of industrial strife make for wisdom and moderation. The peaceful settlement of many labour disputes and the absence of any serious disturbance at a time of general disillusion and severe industrial friction has during the last two years been surprising.

The work of University tutorial classes has undoubtedly helped moderate counsels to prevail and made compromise more possible. Their output may be so far comparatively small, but it includes (as may be seen from the table on p. 54) many of the men who count, men who, by their character and intelligence, were bound to become leaders of opinion. My personal impression of the movement is that it is very much alive and bound to grow. Those connected with it, whether as teachers or organisers, impressed me as live men with a buoyant confidence in the work they were doing. I lived for a short time in an invigorating atmosphere of peculiar educational enthusiasm, and I greatly enjoyed the experience.

CHAPTER V.

The influence of Universities on Adult Education in Scotland, Wales, the British Dominions, the United States America and on the Continent of Europe.

The time available for collecting material for this report, and the limits within which it must be curtailed, permit only an incomplete survey of adult education outside England. The World Association for Adult Education (inaugurated in 1919) has established in London a Central Bureau of Information* about adult education throughout the world, and has already published ten quarterly bulletins containing much useful information from abroad. More can be found on pages 358 to 369 of the Adult Education Committee's report. It therefore seems worth while to give here a short precis of the information thus available which bears most nearly on the subject of this report, *i. e.* the influence of Universities on adult education. Selection of material on this basis was not easy, and reference must sometimes be made to efforts in which universities played very little definite part, because outside England, except where our University extension or tutorial class movements have been consciously imitated, University co-operation in adult education has been much less formal and less highly organised. Again, (as in England until the closing years of last century,) [the distinctions between juvenile and adult, and between vocational and non-vocational education are often difficult to define.

The rest of this chapter (compiled mainly from the two sources mentioned above) will consist of short notes on adult education in Scotland, Wales, the British Dominions, the United States of America, France, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Norway, Austria Germany, and Czecho-slovakia. They will, at least, bring out two important truths, that the demand for liberal education for adults is widespread, and that, wherever Universities exist in western centres of Civilisation, they have been invited and have nearly always been ready to help (directly or indirectly) in efforts to meet the demand.

Scotland.

The comparative paucity of extra-mural university activity in Scotland results from three chief causes: (*a*) the democratic character of Scotch Universities, and the accessibility to all classes, thanks to low fees and scholarships, of their intra-mural courses. A clever Scotch lad rarely fails to find his way to the University ;

* 13, John Street, Adelphi, London, W. C. 2.

(b) the higher standard of education in the ordinary schools, and especially the attention given to liberal (non-vocational) culture in the secondary schools; (c) the predominance of non-vocational studies within the Scotch Universities as compared to the newer English Universities.

University Extension Lectures have for some time tended, (as in the U. S. A. *vide* p. 63) to prepare external students for University degrees. The extension lecture movement has never flourished as in England.

University Tutorial Classes, have resulted from the establishment of W. E. A. Joint Committees at Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh, but in 1918-19 only six classes were running. The movement has been hampered by war conditions but still more so by the Scotch Educational Law, under which such classes were not eligible for grants-in-aid unless controlled by a school board.*

Lectures open to the public are provided from time to time by all Scotch Universities as well as by certain societies and trusts. In Scotland, as in England, numerous voluntary agencies, such as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and the Adult School Union which, however, has not taken strong root) and the churches, are doing a great deal of useful work by various methods for adult education. But they have been handicapped by the educational law already noticed in any attempt to provide continuous class instruction. In Scotland, even more markedly than in England, the evening continuation classes provided by local educational authorities are concerned with technical rather than with liberal education, and with adolescents rather than with adults. Their useful work is therefore mainly outside the subject of this inquiry. The Adult Education Committee's report considers that, in spite of the special circumstances noticed, Scotland needs much wider facilities for liberal adult education outside its universities, and all the Committee's recommendations apply to Scotland, as well as to England.

Wales.

The Non-Anglicised Districts.

The parts of Wales where the people know no English or are bilingual present problems for which parallels can perhaps be more easily found in India than in England. Yet the Indian parallel soon fails, for, while in India and Burma nationalism has (owing to the desire for a *lingua franca* and the study of western political

*The Scotch school boards (each controlling education in a very small area) were in 1920 replaced by local education authorities dealing with much larger county or borough areas, as in England.

ideals) so far flourished at the expense of vernacular literature and education, in Wales the vernacular language and literature has been the instrument of a great national revival. Again in India nationalism has been predominantly political in its aims, while those of Welsh nationalism have been predominantly cultural. The circulating schools (noticed on page 2 of Chapter I) taught the Welsh nation to read and write in its own language, and so prepared the ground for the two great contemporary adult education movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Sunday schools and the Eisteddfod. Both worked in the vernacular and their story (according to the contributor of an essay in the World Association for Adult Education's seventh bulletin) "is the whole story of the intellectual development of modern Wales."

The result was a great Welsh literary revival, which from the close of the eighteenth century served to democratise the press, encourage national folk-lore and drama, and revitalize the national spirit and consciousness. The Sunday schools (as in many parts of Lancashire) attracted for over a hundred years people of all ages, and at one time three-quarters of the entire population attended them. Their great influence and popularity lasted till about thirty years ago, when they began to cater mainly for juveniles. Their usefulness in the sphere of adult education probably also declined even at a time of general educational progress, through the absence of any centres of knowledge on which they could draw. The rural districts of Wales are now in great need of something to replace them. The Eisteddfod still flourishes. The ancient Eisteddfod has been described as a combined "court, parliament, and tournament"; the modern Eisteddfod as "a national or local academy of music, art, and letters"; and again as "a kind of summer school" with a competitive element.

Industrial, English-speaking Wales.

In this part of Wales as compared to similar areas in England, adult education is backward. University extension lectures never throve there, and tutorial classes have only recently begun to do so. Though they were introduced as long ago as 1907, suspicion on the part of labour extremists, the apathy of some of the university colleges, and financial difficulties have retarded their development. Yet there are 56 tutorial classes now running under W. E. A. joint committees in connection with the University College of Bangor, N. Wales, the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, the University College of South Wales, Cardiff, and the University College, Swansea. Perhaps the most striking feature in the great

coal-mining district of South Wales is the independent educational activity of the Labour College's classes whose spirit and methods have already been described on pages 12 and 13.

The churches and a number of other voluntary agencies undertake varied educational work, and the Y. M. C. A. has recently opened a number of new classes in Wales. The increased influence of both the W. E. A. and the Y. M. C. A. are a hopeful sign, for both stand for the spirit of co-operation, which is badly needed. "Sectionalism and the spirit of distrust is the curse of adult education in Wales at the moment. The churches distrust labour, and labour the churches; the local education authority and the universities quarrel over their respective provinces in adult education; the nationalists distrust the international socialists and *vice versa*; and meanwhile — "the hungry sheep look up and are not fed"—thousands of men and women crave for knowledge and snatch eagerly at whatever semblance of it is offered them." (v. Bulletin no. 7, p. 13.) The study of adult education in England should teach us the value of wise co-operation; in Wales, apparently, we have an example of the harm resulting from its absence.

The Dominions.

In the Dominions the development of adult education seems likely to follow English lines, and in Australia especially, thanks to its strong and intelligent trade-unions, the W. E. A. tutorial class movement is already thriving. Perhaps because the Australian universities had been criticised as tending to get out of touch with the life of the people, the success of the tutorial class movement in England soon aroused interest in Australia. In 1913 New South Wales passed a University Amendment Act making it incumbent on the University of Sydney to provide evening classes for working men, and in the same year, at the request of the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne, the question of tutorial classes was discussed at a Congress of Universities of the Empire in London.

The discussion resulted in an invitation to Mr. Mansbridge then Secretary of the W. E. A., to visit the chief Australian universities and explain the movement. He received plenty of warnings that an idealistic plea for liberal education would not "go down" in materialistic Australia, but he made his idealistic plea with remarkable success. In 1914 the University of Sydney appointed a W. E. A. class tutor from England as the first Director of Tutorial Classes in New South Wales, and the other Australian

universities have since made similar appointments. There are now W. E. A. branches and classes in all the large Australian and New Zealand cities. The strength of the branches largely depends, as in England, on the affiliation of trade unions, and the students are drawn from much the same classes, and include much the same proportion of persons engaged in public work as in England. There are at present (January 1921) 40 full tutorial classes running in New Zealand alone, and as many in New South Wales, but the movement seems so far to be confined to the large cities. Australian State Governments have been more liberal to tutorial classes than the Board of Education or local education authorities in England; their contributions amounted even in 1919 to £12,000 and are probably now considerably greater.

Returning from Australia in 1913 Mr. Mansbridge started experimental classes at Toronto and Montreal. There are now W. E. A. branches in Natal and in the Transvaal, and two tutorial classes at Durban and the same number at Johannesburg; more can easily be started in South Africa when funds and tutors are available. Besides the tutorial classes mentioned above, the W. E. A. has arranged many public lectures and study circles in the Dominions, and publishes an Australian "Highway".*

I have no definite information of the educational activities of other voluntary agencies in the Dominions which must be considerable. When I knew South Africa they were generally confined there to single lectures or very short courses of a popular nature. My impression is that the tendency to replace single lectures by class work has already influenced adult education in the Dominions, but not yet so generally as in the mother country.

The United States of America.

Of the numerous and varied activities for adult education in the U. S. A. three important features, (1) University Extension Lectures, (2) the work of the United Labour Education Committee and (3) the Boston Trade Union College, claim first attention because they respectively correspond in many ways (1) to our University Extension, (2) to the W. E. A. Tutorial Class movement and (3) to Ruskin College, the Working Men's College and the Labour Colleges.

(1) *University Extension Lectures*.—Here the resemblance results from definite imitation of the English system dating

* The Highway for August 1921 mentions 51 W. E. A. classes in New South Wales, 13 in Victoria, 10 in S. Australia, 15 in Tasmania, 41 in Zealand, 4 in Durban and Johannesburg, and 2 in Canada.

from the year 1887. Most American universities now provide extension lectures and classes conducted by the English methods. In 1917-18, 6,657 extension students were enrolled by Columbia University, New York. Extension lectures are not financially handicapped as in England because most extension boards get liberal help from State funds. The movement differs essentially from its English counterpart in three important respects: the classes are not arranged at scattered centres but only in the vicinity of the university responsible for them; technical and vocational subjects predominate; the aim is often to provide tuition leading up to the examinations for university degrees and there are halls of residence open to extension students whose studies are accepted as part of the course necessary for a degree. Thus the distinction between extra and intra-mural work is less clear than in England.

Tuition by correspondence is also provided by university extension boards and a student who has taken a correspondence course can take a degree with very short residence at a university. The Chautauqua Summer School will be considered later because, though closely connected in spirit with university extension and imitated by our university extension authorities, it is an older and purely indigenous growth, and not directly controlled by any university.

(2) *The United Labour Education Committee* has recently been formed to provide educational as well as recreational facilities for members of trade unions. Several New York unions during recent years appointed education directors, who attempted to arrange classes. Their attempts, largely through want of proper organisation of demand and supply, were not very successful. To secure better organisation the unions are now federated for educational purposes, and the united committee has arranged a number of successful classes in Sociology, Economics and advanced English. It has also started a Workman's University Seminar, where specially selected students are trained for the work of instruction. Though the committee has not established so close a connection with American universities as the W. E. A. in England, its attitude to them is clearly the W. E. A. attitude of co-operation, rather than Labour College attitude of suspicion and aloofness. The chairman makes this clear in the following announcement: "The task of the committee is enormous. The total membership under the jurisdiction of the committee in the city of New York alone is, in round numbers, 150,000. A broad-visioned, systematic educational campaign . . . is connected

with such enormous difficulties that the committee feels that the mobilisation of all the men of science, art and labour, who have the task at heart, will be absolutely indispensable

Moreover, with the present unsettled time of reconstruction setting in, the necessity of creating a greater mutual understanding and promoting an *entente cordiale* among Labour, Science and Art, the paramount factors of human progress, is becoming ever more desirable."

(3) *The Trade Union College at Boston* was opened in 1919, and, like Ruskin College and the Labour Colleges, is maintained and controlled by working class associations. Its classes are held in the evening and open only to members of trade-unions. The college has, like the New York United Labour Committee, sought the co-operation of universities, and its teachers have been drawn from Harvard, Yale, Columbia and others.

Most American universities have set up *Bureaux of Information* for the use of the outside public. They prepare exhibits, invite inquiries, and undertake investigations on social problems, municipal government, sanitation, street-lighting, drainage, town-planning and the like.

3. *The Chautauquas.*

Chautauqua, on a lake in New York State, is a summer holiday resort famous for the Chautauqua Assembly founded in 1874 to provide popular lectures and systematic instruction to Sunday-school teachers. The assembly has developed into a great permanent summer school, providing courses and lectures throughout the summer. Out of 20,000 summer residents about 3,000 yearly enrol for lectures and study courses. The former are popular, the latter encourage serious study. The fee for a six-week study course equals about 30 rupees, and upwards of 300 are conducted each season. The school employs over a hundred permanent instructors, and offers fifty scholarships yearly to teachers from public schools. The original Chautauqua has been widely imitated and there exist in the U. S. A. about 1,500 similar summer settlements and schools, many of them using the name "Chautauqua".

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was formed in 1878 "to direct the reading habits of grown people, both those who have received the best that the educational institutions can give and desire to pursue an after school course, and those who for any reason have failed to receive a college education in early life, but who now desire to secure to themselves the college

student's general outlook upon the world and life, and develop the habit of close, connected, persistent thinking." It arranges, through local circles, four-year courses of home study. After ten years 200,000 persons were said to belong to the association. It is also responsible for the "Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts," whose "faculty of professors" gives instruction by correspondence leading to special diplomas or degrees.

France, Italy and Spain.

In France, generally speaking, vocational adult education is provided by the State, and non-vocational adult education is provided with the help of State aid by voluntary agencies. There were in 1918-19 as many as 507 separate societies concerned with adult education in France. According to the writer of an essay in the World Association for Adult Education's bulletin no. 4 the work of these societies requires co-ordinating to widen their scope and to prevent overlapping. The same writer believes that the local educational centre should generally be the "foyer civique", a French form of community centre, which, especially during the reconstruction of society in the liberated regions, will serve as "the home of hygiene, and of social life, and the centre of all collective endeavour for the regeneration of the race both physically and morally." The introduction of an eight-hour working day will give more leisure for self-improvement, and is expected to increase the demand for adult education in France as in England. Statistics are quoted in bulletin no. 4, for continuation classes provided or supported by the State, but it must be remembered that (as in England) the majority of pupils attending them are under 18 years of age and the subjects taught are usually vocational. The figures are interesting, however, because they show how, in France as elsewhere, public and official opinion has been gradually forced to admit the need of supplementing elementary school education.

In 1837 there were 1,586 adult courses with 36,964 in attendance. In 1867, the central government having given more liberal aid and having urged local authorities to spend more on adult education, there were 28,586 classes with 747,000 in attendance. The figure rose yearly till elementary education was made compulsory in 1882, when it was for a time believed that adult education would be less needed; thus in 1884 there were only 4,338 courses with 190,000 pupils. The insufficiency of elementary education soon became evident, and in 1895, as a result of popular

agitation, adult education was re-organised and put under a special administrator. In 1897-98 there were over 40,000 courses and 550,678 in attendance. In 1913-14 there were 54,341 courses with 700,000 in attendance.

Of modern French experiments in adult education, the most typical and the most widely known is the *Université Populaire* which has been much imitated especially by other Latin races. The history of *Universités Populaires* in France is instructive. Their aim has been thus officially stated by the Secretary of the Central Society of *Universités Populaires*; "A *université populaire* is a secular association for the development of the higher education of the people, which serves to further the mutual education of citizens of every condition, which provides places of meeting to which the worker can come when his day's toil is ended, to learn, to rest, to amuse himself." The last two of these three aims (to learn, to rest, to amuse himself), seem to have gradually obscured the first to the detriment of the movement's usefulness and importance.

The first *université populaire* was founded in 1900, in 1903 there were 138, in 1912-13 there were 136, in 1913-14 there were 85, in 1917-18 there were 44. Some of the *universités populaires* were founded by *syndicats* (trade-unions) others by the influence of university professors and students. Wherever they were in touch with universities, classes and study groups for literature and philosophy were successfully conducted. But true educational activity has gradually diminished, and the movement has lost its early vitality. Its comparative failure is ascribed to two main reasons: defective provision of facilities for serious study, and too marked a political bias. From the first their educational usefulness suffered from their strongly political tone; they were born in the midst of the Dreyfus agitation, and lost supporters as political excitement died down. The French *Universités Populaires* have been imitated in Spain, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Holland, Norway and Italy.

In Italy the idea has been more successfully used than in France. A *Universita Popolari* arranges lecture courses in almost every city or large town. In most cases, as at our extension lectures, the audiences are middle class rather than working class. This is not, however, always the case. In Milan (the chief industrial central) forty-five classes attended solely by working men were being carried on simultaneously during 1913. The lectures receive liberal aid from Italian municipalities. The *Universita Popolari* of Milan (like the W. E. A.) has published

a number of cheap editions of standard works for use as text-books in its classes. Many are given gratuitously to regular students

In Spain the average of literary attainment is comparatively low, and school teachers are wretchedly paid. The State's classes for adults (*clases de adultos* conducted by elementary school teachers) and certain educational societies provide either purely elementary or the simplest vocational teaching which, as in India to-day and in England during most of the nineteenth century, are the most urgent need in Spain. Higher free education for adults (*educación superior libre de los adultos*) is, however, provided by university extension societies (dating from 1893, but not now flourishing), by "popular universities" and by other working class associations.

Since 1914 great progress has been made in the establishment of public libraries by a new local administration constituted in that year for Catalonia, which is educationally and socially more advanced than the rest of Spain and contains important industrial centres. The account given in the World Association for Adult Education's bulletin no. 5 of the methods taken to build up efficient public libraries in Catalonia, and especially the precautions taken against over-crowding them with useless lumber, deserve the study of all librarians and committees responsible for public libraries in India.

Denmark and Norway.

These two countries closely resemble one another in the attention given to rural adult education, and in the methods used to provide it.

Rural education in Denmark.—The Danish People's High Schools are well known in England. They have been visited by our Adult School and W. E. A. students, and have sent students to Ruskin Hall and Fircroft, Birmingham, a college which was founded on the Danish Peoples High School model. The establishment of Peoples High Schools in Denmark dates from 1844, a time when the peasantry were beginning to take a more active share in politics, and when the insufficiency of public elementary education was therefore noticed. They are non-vocational boarding-schools for young men and women (18 to 25 is the average age), owned by their principals or by shareholders, but liberally aided by the State. Their working-season is the winter, when agricultural labour slackens. The average number of students is 29. The chief subjects are Danish history, the Bible, arithmetic, agriculture and physical culture.

Agricultural Boarding Schools were founded at first in opposition to the Peoples High Schools, by those who believed in more definitely vocational instruction for cultivators. There is no longer opposition between the two movements, and both classes of schools receive the same State aid and inspection. In 1911 the number of Peoples High Schools was 80, and of Agricultural Schools 19. In Danish towns lecture societies arrange lectures and discussions, especially on political and social questions. There exist about 1,000 such lecture societies.

Rural adult education in Norway has followed Danish lines except that, owing to the more practical bent of the people, the number of Rural (definitely agricultural) Schools (64) under county councils exceeds that of the proprietary People's High Schools (23) and the curriculum of each type of institution is tending to approximate to the other's. In 1912, in accordance with the recommendations of a committee appointed by government, both types were brought under the same regulations: (*e. g.*, grants are to be paid by the Board of Education and the county councils in proportion of three to one; grants go partly to salaries, partly to scholarships; schools must be open for twenty-four weeks each year, and contain not less than 20 pupils, who must be over 17 years of age, etc.)

Adult education in Norwegian towns.—In Norwegian towns the usual evening classes make adequate provision for adult technical education. Non-vocational education, chiefly in the form of lectures, is provided by Workers' Academies.

The first Workers' Academy was founded in 1884 at Christiania, on a Swedish model, by workmen, employers, and educationists. Lectures (from which political and religious questions of a controversial character were excluded) were given, at first in the university buildings, later in various parts of the city, by university professors and others. In 1914, after 30 years of work, the Christiania Workers' Academy had given 6,459 lectures to about a million auditors. 135 other Workers' Academies (aided by State and municipal grants) have undertaken the same work in other towns. Their connection with university lecturers is maintained by a committee (set up by the Board of Education) of which several university professors are members. In 1905 their work was co-ordinated by a *Union of Academies of the People* which has extended their scope to nearly all Norwegian towns, and secured free railway passes, and minimum honoraria to their lecturers. In their systematic enlistment of university co-operation there is a resemblance between the Norwegian Workers' Academies, the

American United Labour Education Movement, and the English Workers' Educational Association.

Germany and Austria.

In Germany, before the war, People's High Schools, on the Danish model, had been successfully introduced in rural districts. There seems also to have been a definite tendency (as in England at the close of the nineteenth century), towards rapprochement between labour and the universities. Groups of professors and students from a number of universities unofficially arranged evening classes and holiday courses for working people. The W. E. A.'s methods naturally aroused interest in these circles, and were carefully studied by a number of German as well as other continental students who visited England before the war. "Some of those who came from Germany," Mr. Mansbridge tells us, "longed with a passionate intensity to translate its (the W. E. A.) spirit into their own land." The admiration of English methods of adult education by a small group of enthusiasts could not, however, lead to any organic co-operation between universities and labour organisations, so long as the universities were closely controlled for political purposes by the reactionary German government.

The main educational activity of German labour organisations accordingly proceeded (like those of our Labour Colleges) on independent and partisan lines. The trade-unions, and the social democratic party, have their own education committees (several hundreds in number), which provide classes and libraries. 15,000 students passed, between 1891 and 1914, through the classes of the Workers' School in Berlin, which was founded by Wilhelm Liebknecht in 1890, and is now under the Berlin Education Committee of the social democratic party.

In Austria, a union of associations for adult education was founded in 1893, and included in 1911, twenty-four associations. University extension lectures on the English model were introduced in 1890, and, until the war, flourished and developed on much the same lines as in England. In 1905-06 88 courses of extension lectures in Vienna were attended by 11,389 students; in 1906-07 there were 30 courses outside Vienna with 8,435 students. In 1902 the movement reached Hungary, and in 1910-11 there were 18 extension lectures in Budapest with 600 students.

Since the war unhappy Austria has shown remarkable interest in adult as well as other forms of Education. The University of

Vienna has helped in the establishment of a Volksheim, or people's University, which in 1919-20, held 272 classes attended by 1,142 students including clerks, teachers, craftsmen, shop-assistants, and factory hands.

Czecho-Slovakia (Bohemia).

In Bohemia, both under Austrian rule, and since the present republic was established in 1919, adult education has been stimulated by the national rivalry of the Czech (Slavs) and German races. Even before the war, owing to the activity of a number of Czech national societies and the popular demand for knowledge, adult education, through varied agencies, was wide-spread. In 1919 the new republican government, mainly to spread democratic ideas and to teach the difference between the republic and monarchy, passed a "Law regarding the organisation of popular sources of civic education." "Boards of Cultural Workers" must be appointed for each district of from 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, and "Cultural Committees" for each village. Such "Boards of Cultural Workers" already existed at many centres, as part of the organisation of an "Enlightenment League" dating from 1908. Its work has been mainly to provide libraries, lectures, classes, and many "popular schools," which meet in class-rooms borrowed from day-schools and are often taught by university professors and secondary school teachers. The "Sokol Unions" (now 2,000 in number) were started fifty years ago for moral and physical training, and in 1919 arranged 10,000 lectures as well as theatrical performances.

A Workers' Academy, controlled by the social democratic party, is active in Prague, and a socialist school in that city arranged 1,300 lectures during the past 18 months. The tendency of the educational activities for which these varied agencies are responsible, has been during recent years (as in England) to replace the single lecture by systematic class-work.

University extension lectures on English lines were the only form of adult education supported in Bohemia by the late Austrian government. Both the Czech and German universities have for the last twenty-five years been providing them, but no examination is held nor are diplomas awarded, as in England, in connection with them. The committee for university extension in the Czech university of Prague has during the last 20 years arranged 3,400 lectures, with attendances varying from 69 to 470. University professors also give holiday courses of lectures to elementary school teachers.

The President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic has been elected President, for this year, of the World Association for Adult Education. Mr. Mansbridge (for twelve years Secretary of the W. E. A. and now Chairman of the above Association), at the invitation of the Czech government recently lectured at Prague on "Popular Educational Movements in England," and discussed problems of adult education with university professors and working-class organisations. He has also lectured in Holland at the invitation of the People's University (Volks-Universiteit) of Rotterdam. Councils of the World Association for Adult Education have recently been formed in both Holland and Czecho-Slovakia.

CHAPTER VI.

Possibilities of University extra-mural adult teaching in India.

Introductory.

The value of this report, if it has any, lies in the preceding chapters in which I have described as faithfully and concisely as I could an increasingly important field of educational activity with which, though they will before long certainly require information about it, Indian educationalists are not yet well acquainted. Though a demand for organised higher adult education may, for reasons considered later, be expected before long in India Burma, which is the only part of the Indian Empire with which I am intimately acquainted, may not feel the need so soon. The subject of this study is therefore probably of more immediate interest to India than to Burma, * and, to complete it as it should be completed, a thorough examination in India of Indian conditions and qualified Indian opinion, would be necessary. Any suggestions I can make at this stage with regard to India can therefore only be sketchy and tentative. Perhaps I should have left constructive suggestions for India entirely to others, had not two opportunities of supplementing my scanty acquaintance with Indian conditions presented themselves.

A conference on adult education in India was held in London last October (1920). This conference, over which Sir Michael Sadler presided, and which was attended by a number of other Englishmen and Indians with Indian educational experience, was the first of a series of conferences on India to be arranged by the World Association for Adult Education. A brief report of it in the Educational Supplement of the *Times* first suggested this inquiry, and a much fuller report, kindly supplied by the above association, has helped me greatly in pursuing it. An interview, during which Sir Michael Sadler kindly allowed me to draw on his unique combined knowledge of Indian educational conditions and the history of adult education, proved still more useful. Because most of my information on India is second-hand, and because I may have misunderstood my informants, I shall not

* Since my return to Burma the very rapid growth of political consciousness throughout the country, the establishment of night-school, and the frequent provision of lectures by voluntary agencies in Rangoon make me doubt whether the above statement remains true.

venture to quote them unless I have their statements in writing. It is only in the hope that my tentative suggestions may serve to stimulate thought and discussion, that I venture to make them under the following heads: (1) the General Lessons of Western Experience; (2) The Demand for Higher Adult Education; (3) Supply and Organisation; (4) Tutors, Lecturers and Subjects; (5) Methods; (6) Examinations and Diplomas; and (7) Books.

(1) *The General Lessons of Western Experience.*—The application of English experience to adult education will not be as simple in India as it has proved in Australia and the other Dominions where economic, social and educational conditions more closely resemble those in England. Certain axioms, however which have become generally accepted as a result of English experience, seem likely to prove of universal application.

- (a) For higher adult education university co-operation seems essential. Not only are universities the most suitable and often the only centres of knowledge and research, but, if true universities, they can best supply the spirit of earnest and impartial search for truth which is essential to the success of higher adult education.
- (b) Higher adult education can achieve little without adequate financial support from the State either in the form of grants paid directly to the organisation which provides it, or indirectly through increased contributions to the funds at the disposal of the universities.
- (c) The co-operation of voluntary agencies is equally essential. Potential students must be approached through societies of which they are members. Therefore their chief function is to organise the demand for higher education. To what extent such societies should share in the organisation and control of supply is still debated in England, but the opinion is growing that, to secure the confidence of students in the organisation, voluntary associations should be given a substantial share in it.
- (d) Cordial co-operation between voluntary agencies is also needed to prevent over-lapping and to secure their widest usefulness. Sectionalism and the spirit of mistrust would be fatal.
- (e) Some form of "Joint Committee", on which voluntary agencies, universities, and probably also educational authorities, are represented should therefore undertake the supply of higher adult education.

- (f) The provision of extra-mural teaching serves to keep universities in touch with the life of a nation, and re-acts favourably on their internal teaching.
- (g) The success of a university's extra-mural teaching depends on its high internal efficiency. The extra-mural work of a university will be worthless if its internal teaching is of a low standard. A university's first duty is therefore to provide sound internal teaching.*

(2) *The Demand for Higher Adult Education.*—So long as a large proportion of India's 6,000,000 new electors are illiterate, elementary adult education will be of paramount importance. Elementary adult education must, as it did in England, supplement the work of the schools in breaking down illiteracy. Yet the need for higher adult education is also evident, and will probably result before long in an insistent demand. The confusion of political and educational motives may be deplored, but experience proves that a time of increased interest in politics is inevitably a time of increased demand for higher adult education. It is a pity that party propaganda is, at such times, so commonly offered in the guise of education, but that is all the more reason for organising a supply of something better. Higher education is usually, at times like the present in India, insistentlly demanded because a mere school education, however thorough, is generally felt to be a very insufficient preparation for citizenship in a self-governing state. Granted that the actual demand for higher adult education (apart from that leading to university degrees) is not yet clearly expressed, (a point on which I am doubtful), it should be remembered that this has always been the case before the demand was voiced and organised by voluntary agencies. Again, even if the existing demand only justified very small beginnings, such small beginnings should be undertaken because those students who first come forward are likely to be intellectually the pick of the half-educated classes, men destined to be leaders of opinion powerful for good or evil.

If universities could provide facilities for higher education in the vernacular the demand for it would be large from the outset. Even if circumstances force them at first to confine their extra-mural teaching to the medium of English, there exists in every Indian university town a number of persons ready to profit by it,

*In England to-day, at a time of increasing demands on universities for extra-mural teaching, this has become a matter for very serious consideration. Increased private benefactions and State contributions to the funds at the disposal of universities are expected to solve the difficulty.

teachers, clerks, mechanics, pleaders or business-men who have had a secondary school and perhaps also an incomplete college education, but have got no further up the educational ladder. I had this class, with which I am well acquainted in Burma, specially in mind when I began this inquiry, and I think their case deserves special consideration. They are people whose knowledge of English already gives them some influence and importance, but whose value as citizens would be much enhanced by further education. So far they may have learnt little more than to write, to read, to accept facts and ideas on authority, and perhaps to reproduce them. The best school education can teach little more. They still need to learn how to think consecutively, weigh pros and cons, and search impartially for truth. It should be the aim of Indian universities to supply this need for those who feel it.

It may be argued that there will be no demand in India for non-vocational education which leads to no certificate, degree or other key to material success. The same was predicted, but erroneously, of Australia and probably of every other country in which higher adult education flourishes to-day. I believe that compensatory education is a widely felt need in every country where the educational system is selective, and nowhere more than in India. To this need for compensatory education, common to all half-educated folk to whom fate has assigned comparatively uninteresting and uncongenial work; will be added before long in India and Burma the political stimulus to which I have already referred.

The attendances at certain courses of lectures recently organised in Burma by the Imperial Idea Committee augured well for the success of adult education; other courses of English lectures on geography, though specially provided (by the department of education) for teachers, were largely attended in many centres by people of varied occupations. The senate of Calcutta University last summer (1920) expressed a desire for definite provision for extension work to be made in the Calcutta University Bill.

Sir Michael Sadler informed me that, "the members of the Calcutta University Commission were cordially in favour of efforts being made to extend extra-mural university teaching in Bengal." More urgent problems prevented the subject from being treated in detail in the Sadler Commission's report, but on page 418, Volume IV, the establishment of a University Extension Board in the reconstituted University of Calcutta is recommended. These are surely signs that the existence of a demand for higher adult education has impressed people well qualified to form an opinion. I under

stand also that Mr. C. R. Reddy, Inspector-General of Education in Mysore, has already made efforts to meet the demand in that State, and that Professor Brajendranath Seal was, when Professor of Philosophy at Calcutta University, specially interested in the development of extra-mural classes both in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal. I understand also from a variety of sources that when public lectures and courses have been unofficially provided (as at Dacca) in India by the members of the staffs of Indian University Colleges or by voluntary agencies, they have always been well attended. There seems therefore to be justification for believing that a demand for higher adult education already exists. It may be expected, however, to remain comparatively latent, in India as elsewhere, until stimulated by the activities of voluntary agencies.

(3) *Supply and Organisation*.—Existing facilities for higher adult education in India and Burma (outside universities), are supplied as far as I can ascertain either by colleges or by voluntary agencies such as the Servants of India, the Social Service League, the Co-operative Institutes, the Arya Samaj, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Buddhist Association. The attention of voluntary agencies has, however (as in England before illiteracy was broken down), been largely devoted to elementary adult education, (*e.g.*, the evening classes supplied by the Servants of India for mill-hands in Bombay, and those undertaken in Bengal villages by pupils from Sir Rabendra Nath Tagore's School of which mention is made in the Sadler Commission's report). In Burma an Imperial Idea Committee nominated by government also provides occasional courses of lectures. Professors from colleges have often unofficially helped these voluntary agencies but there exists no organic connection between them and universities. Some colleges have arranged popular lectures independently, but no university has systematically undertaken extension work.

Though much closer co-operation between the State, universities, and voluntary agencies is evidently desirable, it seems unlikely that the first steps towards it could, even under the new Indian constitutions, be successfully made by any Imperial or Provincial government. It is probably immaterial whether a beginning is made by universities offering educational facilities, or by voluntary agencies applying for them. The result in either case should be the establishment of a University Extension Board, or Department for Extra-mural Education. This authority should

deal with all branches of extra-mural teaching, (*e. g.*, public lectures, extension lectures, tutorial classes, summer meetings or schools), for the existence of separate authorities for extension lectures and tutorial classes in England is due to circumstances which do not exist in India, and has already proved a source of inconvenience. I am strongly of the opinion that Indian University Extension Boards should include representatives of voluntary agencies and at least one representative of the provincial education department.

The Oxford Delegacy, the Cambridge Syndicate, and the London Board are, as far as I know, the only English authorities for university extra-mural teaching which are not strengthened by representatives from outside the university. Moreover they organise their tutorial classes through joint-committees, and the distance and wide distribution of most of the Oxford and Cambridge centres for extension lectures would make the representation of local voluntary associations concerned difficult and possibly ineffectual.

The extra-mural work of Indian universities, like that of the newer English universities, would for some time lie mainly close at hand, and its administration would therefore benefit greatly by co-operation from outside the university. If a demand is expressed for university extra-mural teaching at distant centres, it will be a matter for consideration whether it should be provided by a distant university extension authority, or by local joint committees. The Calcutta University Commission recommended, and the government of Burma has recently suggested that selected high schools should undertake preliminary teaching for university degrees. Should these collegiate schools be strong enough, their governing bodies might undertake the setting up of joint-committees for university extra-mural work. Otherwise, as is happening in certain English centres where no university college exists, educational authorities might set up joint committees to deal with both elementary and higher adult education.

Should a university decide to take the first tentative steps to secure the co-operation of voluntary agencies in its extension work, it might well begin with providing popular lectures on subjects of general interest, including one or more on the history of Adult Education, a common subject for short lecture courses and study circles in England. If representatives of voluntary associations likely to be interested were specially invited to attend this lecture, or course of lectures, it would probably lead to definite inquiries for educational facilities which would justify the setting up of a

joint-committee to provide them. At the conference in London to which I have already referred Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, a member of the Secretary of State's Council, sketched a very comprehensive scheme for the organisation of adult education in each Indian province :—A Provincial Adult Education Committee, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education, and composed of elected and official members of council and representatives of varied educational interests, to plan a scheme for the whole province, arrange for translation of books into the leading vernaculars, the appointment of lecturers, and the organisation of evening schools; an adult education committee for each district to distribute books, and provide evening classes and village halls as community centres. Such a provincial committee (if ever constituted) would be largely concerned with the provision, through its district committees, of elementary adult education, and might well entrust the provision of higher adult education mainly to University Joint-Committees which have proved elsewhere the best means of securing the necessary co-operation between voluntary agencies and universities.

Liberal State aid would be essential to the success of university extra-mural work in India or Burma. It should take the form either of adequate yearly budget provision to finance the whole work of university extra-mural departments (or extension boards), or of lump sums payable, as in England, for each class, or course of lectures. State inspection of classes would in either case be useful to test the educational quality of the work done, to serve as a connecting link between classes, and to provide information as to books, ideas and methods. Educational officers entrusted with such inspections should be carefully selected and would naturally study the methods used for similar work in England.

(4) *Tutors and Lecturers.*—It would be difficult for some time to secure suitable tutors and lecturers for adult education in India. It is very desirable that members of university teaching staffs should be the first to undertake it, and that there should always be a certain proportion of university lecturers and professors taking part in it. The university's intra-mural teaching and research, especially in matters connected with the social sciences, would benefit thereby, and universities would gain more public confidence and support. The prestige and experience of a university teacher would help greatly, especially at first, to secure the right atmosphere of impartial and earnest study. But Indian university and college staffs are, I understand, at present barely adequate for intra-mural requirements. This points to the need of strengthening university staffs, and the

duty cannot be avoided in India if the axiom is admitted, as it is bound to be sooner or later, that, "The provision of a liberal education for adult students should be regarded by universities as a normal and necessary part of their functions" (the first recommendation of the 1919 Adult Education Committee's Report V., p. 169).

College lecturers while on furlough or when appointed in England should be required to study the organisation and methods of extra-mural university teaching.*

A good number of Indian college lecturers should certainly be given this experience; and Directors of University Extra-mural Teaching should be appointed if possible, as in Australia, from men who have had experience of it in England.

Meanwhile, even though the help of intra-mural staffs proves for some time absolutely unobtainable, a beginning of university extra-mural teaching (though this may sound anomalous) might yet be made. In England only a small proportion of the teaching for which university extension boards and joint-committees are responsible is entrusted to regular university teachers.

There are in India, as in England, many other sources of supply, high-school principals and assistant teachers, missionaries, barristers, civil servants and chaplains. The responsibility of selection would rest with university Joint-Committees, and government inspection would be a guarantee against the continued employment of unsuitable lecturers. Moreover it should be remembered that the standard of attainment required from such a tutor in India will not be so high as in England. We cannot, in Indian university extra-mural teaching, aim yet at university standards of work, though we can and should aim at the university spirit. Any considerable extension of such work would offer a wide field of social service to Indian graduates, either as paid lecturers and tutors, or as unpaid leaders of study circles. If tutors are suitably remunerated, and the need for them made known, a considerable

* This report would serve as a preliminary guide to men undertaking such courses of study, which need not take long. Two or three weeks in London would first be required for preliminary reading at the Board of Education's reference library at South Kensington, and to get into touch with voluntary associations (such as the W. E. A., the Y. M. C. A., the World Association for Adult Education, the Adult Schools Union and the London University Extension Board). Then not less than two of the winter months should be spent seeing lectures and classes at one or more of the northern universities. Attendance at one of two University Joint Committee meetings would be a very useful experience which would not, I think, be refused to any earnest inquirer for or from India.

supply would, I believe, be forthcoming. Many people would as in England take up the work from altruistic motives and because of its intrinsic interest. The best school teachers especially would find it a beneficial change from their every-day duties and a great stimulus to continued thought and study. The adequate remuneration of selected teachers from outside the university would be essential, and a minimum scale should be fixed at the outset, by University Extension Boards or Joint-Committees, for extension lectures, tutorial classes, or whatever other form of teaching they decide to offer.

5. *Methods and subjects.* The question whether the medium of instruction should be English or a vernacular language must first be considered. The above mentioned conference in London strongly favoured work in the vernacular, but it had mainly in view the wider field of elementary adult education. As to how much vernacular extra-mural teaching could be provided by Indian universities I can express no opinion worth having. In Burma I consider that a considerable amount could very profitably be undertaken. Burmese literature and history offer a wide field which would, however, be limited for some time by the absence of suitable text-books. The anthology of Burmese prose and verse now being compiled at the suggestion of the Imperial Idea Committee would be a useful text-book for a tutorial class or study circle. Suitable editions of some Burmese classics are, I believe, obtainable. A history of Burma now under preparation by a member of the Indian Civil Service and a group of Burmese scholars should, if published in the vernacular, serve admirably for the same purpose. Another accurate, though not very interesting, vernacular text-book of Burmese history already exists. Pali, a very popular study in Buddhist Burma, could also be studied through the vernacular. Each University Extension Board would naturally give special consideration to vernacular teaching. But, owing to the scarcity of suitable vernacular text-books, and the predominance of English in the curricula of most Indian universities it appears to me probable that university extension work would for some time be mainly conducted through the medium of English.

As to methods, I would insist primarily in the difference between those suitable for adult and for juvenile education. Intimate and familiar relations must be established between tutor and class; informality, freedom of discussion, and a democratic atmosphere are essential. I have on pages 47 and 48 noticed certain

practical difficulties in the way of democratic class management, on which the W. E. A. insists so strongly. Yet the W. E. A.'s insistence is based on a just appreciation of the essential requirements of adult students. In such details at any rate as the time of meeting,* choice of room, and even the order in which points are taken up for discussion, democratic methods can and should be adopted. The unpopularity of many county council classes in England, and of similar classes in France, has been ascribed to the "school room" atmosphere, against which school-masters or mistresses who undertake to teach adults should be specially warned. The popularity of English tutorial classes depends greatly on their familiar, intimate and democratic atmosphere.

Such an atmosphere, besides attracting students, encourages impartial search for truth by both teacher and taught and from as many angles as possible. "If you go to the elementary school," said Lord Haldane at the inauguration of the World Association for Adult Education, "you find the boys and girls hanging on the words of the teacher. What he says is truth, the knowledge which he imparts to them is the right knowledge as exact as that derived from the balance or measuring rod. If you go to the secondary school, that is less strikingly so but still it is so. When you come to the university, it is a different kind of subject which is taught and by a different method. Student and professor work together. They go together in the search for truth. With both truth has got a different meaning." Such is the "W. E. A." or "University" spirit to which I have already alluded. I am aware that it has not yet permeated all universities, Indian or English. But it is the spirit at which all university teaching, whether internal or external, should aim. Many a tutor with experience of both prefers the latter because, owing to the absence of examinations and degrees, the true university atmosphere is easier to attain in external classes.

I have already described at some length the principal methods of western adult education, and devoted special attention to exten-

*Time.—The lecture or tutorial class season (in England the winter months) would depend, if college and school staffs share in the work, on their vacations. In Burma the four rains months, (which the first English visitors to Burma used to call "the winter") June to September, would probably be at first the most convenient. They would only provide a short season of 8 fortnightly extension lectures, or 16 weekly tutorial classes, but probably, for a beginning, such a season would be long enough. Students should be allowed to choose the hour most convenient to them. It would probably be from 6 to 7-30 P. M.

sion lectures and tutorial classes, because they have proved most successful in England and seem to me the most suitable for imitation in India. An Indian university would probably begin with short courses of extension lectures, a method which, as pointed out in chapter III, is singularly well adapted to stimulate intellectual interest and yet offers certain facilities for serious study. It puts, however, a heavy strain on the lecturer, which would be even more trying in a tropical climate. Even in England few lecturers, after the effort of holding a large audience for an hour, are fit to do justice to a class of keen students. The complete change of atmosphere from public lecture to class is also trying. Successful extension lecturers will probably be harder to find than successful class tutors.

I believe that tutorial classes should prove more suitable to Indian conditions. Whether they can be started would depend on the co-operation of voluntary agencies in collecting a sufficient number of serious students. I should deprecate for some time any attempt at study as intensive as is undertaken by English three-year tutorial classes. The English one-year (24 lessons) classes could, however, serve as a general model. Climatic considerations again lead me to consider the customary English two hours period as too long. Even in England it is not universal and I noticed in the one-year classes which I visited a tendency to reduce it. The success of university tutorial classes would probably lead voluntary agencies, as in England, to start study circles under ex-tutorial class students. University authorities would probably not be directly responsible for them.

The summer meeting, summer school, or week-end school methods, which have become more and more common in English-speaking countries, would deserve the careful consideration of Indian university extension boards or voluntary agencies interested in adult education. I understand that the Arya Samaj has already organised in Bengal educational re-unions resembling our summer meetings.

Subjects.—The subjects to be taught would depend on the teachers at the disposal of University Joint Committees (or Extension Boards), and on the choice of potential students expressed through voluntary agencies. The English University Extension Boards send to their various centres yearly prospectuses of subjects and teachers available. Similar prospectuses would probably be published by Indian University Extension Boards for the information of voluntary agencies. It should be remembered by all concerned that adult students should begin by living interests. The

first demand therefore is likely to be for the social sciences, economic history, political history and economics. I have already written on page 55 about the risk of partisanship impairing the educational usefulness of such studies; and I have stated my opinions (1) that it is politically salutary for controversial subjects to be freely discussed in the right atmosphere, (2) that, even from the purely educational point of view, so long as the class is conducted in the right spirit, the advantages of including such subjects seems to outweigh the disadvantages. I feel, however, that the teaching of subjects which inevitably suggest controversial questions is better suited to the tutorial class than to the lecture. The "ten minutes for questions," so common at the close of public lectures, too often result in heckling which helps neither the questioner nor the lecturer nor their audience to get nearer the truth. Even in extension lectures, where the majority of the audience leaves before the class discussion, the treatment of controversial questions presents more danger than in the atmosphere of free, impartial and less public discussion provided by a tutorial class.

Though a demand for the social sciences would probably be expressed in India and Burma, I should not expect it to be so general as in England. The desire for better acquaintance with the English language is wide-spread, and classes in English literature should therefore prove popular, possessing as they would a double usefulness both intellectual and practical. Music, or arts and crafts, might prove a successful subject. Indian, Burmese and Imperial history could be taught in English as well as in the vernacular.

(6) *Examinations and Diplomas.*—English university extension lectures lead to examinations and diplomas, tutorial classes do not. The W. E. A. (like the Danish People's High Schools) has successfully resisted academic or State suggestions for examination tests. I hold that its instinct has been sound. Unless the diplomas are of real value for success in life they will, as under the English university extension system, excite little interest; if they are of such value, adult students may (like many a college student as well as school-boy) come to "hang on the words of the teacher," and so the right atmosphere will be difficult to capture. For the same reason I specially deprecate the American tendency to use extension lectures as partial preparation for University degrees. Let us by all means make entrance to Indian universities as easy as possible for all students fit to profit by their teaching. But let us not confuse the quite different functions of internal and extra-mural university teaching.

(7) *Books*.—A proper supply of books would be essential. Every student should be expected to buy at least one text-book, but each class should also be supplied for the period of its duration with boxes of books from some central library. Such libraries in England are maintained by voluntary associations and trusts, but are also being built up by university departments for extra-mural teaching. Such departments, if ever established by Indian universities, would require funds for building up special libraries.

APPENDIX A.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LECTURES.

The inspiration of Greece. The great factor in Civilization. Syllabus of a Course of Six Lectures by Ian B. Stoughton
 (Holborn, M.A., F.R.G.S.,
 Merton College,
 Oxford.

'Save the blind forces of nature nothing moves in modern life that is not Greek in its origin.'

LECTURE I.

HELLAS AND HER PIONEERS: THE BRITAIN OF THE SOUTH.

The object of this course is three fold: first, to show how intensely interesting is the study of Greek culture and Greek history; secondly, to demonstrate how we actually are indebted to Greece for practically everything that is worth having in modern civilization; and thirdly, to show how Greece still offers an apparently inexhaustible range of possibilities, where we have yet to learn what she has to give.

The course will be considered from a general and not a specialist standpoint, with the object of stimulating a general interest in the subject.

The importance of the subject for us to-day. The magnitude of Greek influence. The same problems perplex us now—Political, Social, Moral, Artistic and Scientific. In whatever direction we look we find that the Greek has been there before us.

Classical studies are well named *Literæ Humaniores*, for it is to Hellenism that we turn for all the more human side of life as distinct from mere animalism and materialism, whose horizon is limited by the grosser pursuits of mere bodily conveniences, *e. g.*, means of transport, supply and material production.

We recognize that the Hellenes are still our masters in Literature, Art, Philosophy and History; but we forget that even in those domains in which we more particularly pride ourselves, as, for instance, modern science, they were the pioneers; and the remarkable fact is that a great deal of what they discovered was forgotten in the dark ages, only to be re-discovered in modern times. This is true of geography, geology and astronomy, whereas in the geometrical side of mathematics they remain unsurpassed. Not the least interesting are their contributions to political and social science, which still have great value for us to-day.

A great deal of futile writing and discussion in many fields might be avoided, if there were a more widespread knowledge of what had already been ably treated more than 2000 years ago.

The Land of Hellas, the true and more beautiful name of Greece, the Aegean, Asia Minor, Magna Graecia, climate, soil and scenery.

The Divisions of Greece—the long seaboard. Influence of the country on the people.

The Greek—his race—his origin—his character. In no nation do we find such active power coupled with such insight into beauty and knowledge.

Parallels with Britain. Configuration of the Country; Maritime ventures; Colonies; Commerce; Athletics.

Although it may easily be exaggerated, the influence of Athenian civilization is far more important than that of the rest of Greece, and Greek civilization in this course will practically mean Athenian civilization, unless otherwise stated.

Life in Athens. Perhaps the thing that strikes one most is its extreme modernity. Education. Dress. Social functions.

LECTURE II.

THE SALVATION OF EUROPE—THE STRUGGLE WITH PERSIA

There are few, if any, more dramatic stories in history than the contest between Greece and Persia, which preserved for us the priceless heritage of all that is best in what we understand as Western Civilization.

If the result of Marathon had been different, and Greece and Europe had been subjected to the East, it is interesting to speculate as to whether something of the light would still have reached us, even supposing the marvellous development of the golden epoch could have taken place at all without the confidence and elation given by victory. But there is no room to doubt that if the subjugation of Greece had meant the obliteration of Greek civilization, what is of most value in modern civilization would have been impossible.

This lecture does not attempt to discuss problems, but simply to set forth a great drama.

The Barbarian. What barbarism meant to the Greek. Athens and Persia—a contrast. Eastern and Western civilization, Intellectual and social freedom contrasted with intellectual stagnation and despotism.

The Medes and the Persians. Conquest of Lydia. The Ionian revolt, and the burning of Sardis, 499 B. C.

The disparity of forces.

First Persian expedition under Mardonius; second expedition under Datis.

MARATHON, 490 B. C.

Miltiades. Athens and Aigina. The second invasion. Preparations of Darius. His death.

Xerxes. Preparations in Hellas. Athens, Sparta, Plataia, Thespiæ, Phokis. Magnanimity of Athens.

THERMOPYLÆ.

Naval engagements at Artemision. Selfishness of the Peloponnesians. Sacrifices of Athens. Sack of Athens.

SALAMIS, 480 B. C.

PLATAIA AND MYKALÆ.

Rebuilding of Athens.

LECTURE III.

HOMER AND DISCOVERIES IN HOMERIC LANDS.

The Epic Poem. Its relation to other forms of Poetry. To imagine Greek literature without Homer is impossible. It is equally impossible to imagine modern poetry without Homer and Greek literature. Greek poetry, Hebrew poetry and Japanese poetry, are essentially distinct arts. Modern European poetry is only a modification of that of Hellas.

The higher criticism of Homer. Wolf, Hermann, Lachmann, Nitzsch, Grote.

Homeric history and the Tale of Troy.

UNWRITTEN GREEK HISTORY.

Until comparatively recent times our knowledge of Greek History may be said to have been confined almost entirely to written evidence. It might even be said that George Grote summed up the questions once and for all from that standpoint. But since Grote's history appeared (1846) a flood of light has been thrown upon the earlier periods of Greek History, beginning with the astounding discoveries of Schliemann, who turned the first sod at Hissarlik in 1870.

The story of exploration has been a marvellous one, and we know now of a long series of epochs of civilization stretching back into the remote neolithic past 10,000 years before Christ.

It is in these that we find the true ancestors of European civilization. Their centre seems undoubtedly to have been in Krete, and the great Bronze Age to have begun there not much later than 3000 B. C.

But perhaps the best introduction to the subject is found in the early excavations at Hissarlik, Tiryns and Mykenai.

Of these the plan of Tiryns is the most interesting, and may profitably be considered in detail.

The tombs of Mykenai.

Finds at Hissarlik Mykenai, Vaphio and elsewhere.

Later work, as at Knossos, Phaistos and Gournia has added enormously to our knowledge, and we are now able to make tentative summings up of the results so far attained, dividing the so-called Minoan civilizations into three great periods.

Homeric Troy.

These earlier civilizations throw considerable light upon the later culture and artistic development of the Greeks, particularly in such a case as that of Attica, where the indigenous element was strong.

LECTURE IV.

GREEK ART AND THOUGHT: SOKRATES.

Great as we may consider the victories of Greece over Persia in the history of mankind, they were only great because they preserved to us the priceless heritage of Hellenic culture. This seemed to derive enormous impulse from

the great national achievements of the Persian war. Nowhere was this the case more than at Athens.

The origins of Greek civilization. Despite the popular tendency to ignore the possibility of all invention and independent thought, and the endeavour to prove that everything must be borrowed from somewhere else, the remarkable thing about Greek culture throughout its history is its extraordinary and unparalleled originality and independence. Nothing of course can be entirely independent, and these things become a question of comparison. An attempt to glance, even cursorily, at the development of Greek Philosophy would be futile. There is, however, one point upon which special stress may be laid in this course, namely, the emphasis that Greek thought continually lays, often unconsciously, upon the necessity for both ethik and aesthetik. The Greek man required to be *καλὸς καγαθὸς* both beautiful and good.

Pre-Socratic Philosophy. Largely Physical. Popular misconceptions regarding the Sophists.

Sokrates. His personal character and life. Xenophon and Plato's accounts of him. The teaching of Sokrates. He abandoned Physics, and practically founded the study of Ethics. In the second place he differed from the Sophists in making no assumptions as to existing conditions.

As the inventor of definition, he was a great innovator, to an extent which it is doubtless hard to realize.

His method was to proceed from a negative process of questioning that proved ignorance to a positive process of Education.

Virtue as knowledge.

Trial and Death of Sokrates.

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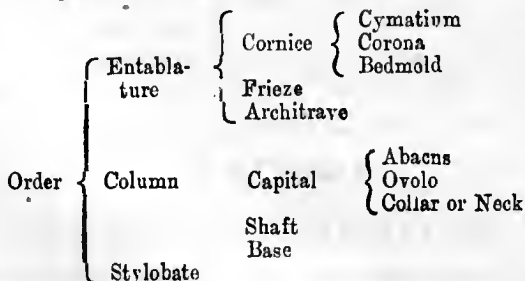
As the subject of this lecture does not readily lend itself to illustration it will probably be found convenient to show slides illustrating the beginning of Greek sculpture, preparatory to Lecture V.

LECTURE V.

GREEK ARCHITECTURE: PHEIDIAS AND THE PARTHENON.

Athenian Architecture. The three orders. Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. The main characteristics. The workmanship. The subtlety and refinements.

The component parts of an order may be illustrated thus:



The greatest Art of the world. The Greek artistic sense. Art and its place in life.

Pheidias. His friendship with Perikles. His works: The Athene Promachos; the Lemnian Athene; the Zeus at Olympia; and the Athene Parthenos.

The Parthenon. Iktinos the architect.

The sculptures of the Parthenon: the Pediments; the Friezes; and the Metopes.

The position of Pheidias in the history of Art. Consideration of his style. Contrast between his work, as typical of the fifth century, and that of Skopas as typical of the fourth.

LECTURE VI.

THE MODERN DEBT TO GREECE.

'GRÆCIA CAPTA FERVUM VICTOREM CEPIT.'

When Mummius carried away the Art treasures of Corinth to Rome, so little did he understand the nature of their value that he stipulated with the shipping agents that if anything were lost it should be replaced by a new one of equal value.

This dim appreciation of the fact that there was something worth having in Greece gradually spreads until Rome is recivilized by the conquered race.

In early days we find the influence of Greece in the Roman Constitution probably through the towns of Magna Græcia, also in her national games and, again in her religion—an influence greatly strengthened by the power of the Greek oracles.

Later we get more definite educational influences, the Roman language is remodelled on Greek lines, the school is introduced from Greece and the translation of the Greek masterpieces gives to the Romans a literature.

Even where the Romans excelled they were indebted to Greece, as for instance in law and government, where at an early date we see the influence of the Greek constitutions, later that of the Greek thinkers, and throughout a borrowing of Greek forms, *e. g.*, conveyancing and the testamentary bequest.

Even in military matters it is interesting to compare the much praised military organization of the Roman Legion with that of the Greek Phalanx. There is considerable doubt as to whether the Macedonian form of the phalanx was not in reality the superior formation.

Roman Life: Cicero's letters.

Roman Architecture and Art: Arcesilaus, Pasiteles.

Roman Literature: Vergil, Plautus, Terence, etc.

Roman Oratory: Cicero.

Roman Philosophy: Panaetius, C. Amasinius, Lucretius, Cicero, Varro.

It is, however, not only Rome that was so deeply indebted to Greece, nor is it only through Rome that she has affected modern civilization.

Byzantium and the later Greek empire. Influence upon Mediaeval civilization.

Early study of Greek in Europe. Ireland and the Keltic Church.

Greek influence through the Arabs. Aristotle; the 'Schoolmen.'

The Renaissance. Grocyn. Erasmus.

Greek influence through Rome. A good instance might be taken in the case of Isokrates, Cicero and Milton.

New influences still make themselves felt to-day.

Greek influence may be considered under the following headings:—Art; Poetry, Architecture; Sculpture. Literature: Science; Politics; History; Philosophy; and Religion.

Perhaps the most remarkable fact in estimating the influence of Hellas is the immense proportion of great men to her total population, particularly in Athens. Indeed the average of intelligence has never been equalled before or since. Limited as the view must necessarily be in so short a course of lectures, it is hardly possible to close without putting the question—How do we stand in relation to Greek civilization? Our debt is great, but might we not gain even more than we have done? In some directions we have made progress, but in other directions have we not gone back, and taking everything into consideration—social, moral, intellectual, artistic, and physical—can the civilization of modern Europe or America compare with that of Athens at her best?

The Educational value of the Greek Language; the great need for reform in methods of teaching Greek. Greek studies a fundamental in the education of Western Civilizations.

SYSTEM OF MARKING ESSAYS.

There are four classes, represented by the first four letters of the Greek alphabet, $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta$. One or more pluses or minuses give a rough indication of the position in the class, thus: $\beta + +$ indicates a high second class, whereas $\gamma -$ indicates a third class, just on the lower border-line.

APPENDIX B.

NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY COLLEGE. SCHEME FOR A NEW
DEPARTMENT OF EXTRA-MURAL ADULT EDUCATION.*Aim.*

The aim of the Department will be to coordinate all activities concerned with the extension of University teaching in the East Midlands, and to assist voluntary organisations, and Local Education Authorities to stimulate and organise the demand for higher education amongst adults.

Activities.

The work of the Department falls naturally into four main divisions:—

(a) The training and provision of tutors and lecturers:—

There is likely to be, in the future, a great shortage of tutors of the right type for extra-mural teaching. No provision is made anywhere for the training of such tutors, and the Universities have to draw very largely upon ordinary members of their Staffs and teachers in other institutions who happen to be suitable for extra-mural work and have time to devote to it.

By establishing special courses for the training of tutors for adult Tutorial and other classes, under the supervision of the new Department, the College will meet a serious need.

It may be pointed out that such courses would also provide a valuable training ground for teachers in day and evening continuation schools.

(b) The provision of Tutorial Classes and Preparatory Classes.

This work is already widely developed, but is capable of still further extension. It must continue to be regarded as the most important branch of the extra-mural work of the Department.

The enclosed Prospectus gives a full account of Tutorial Class work in the East Midlands.

(c) The provision of University Extension Courses and Lecture Courses of a pioneer character.

This work might be developed with advantage; for while it is not possible in Lecture Courses to do such intensive work as in the classes, they do nevertheless make possible an appeal to larger numbers, and may prepare the way for useful class work if they are not allowed to degenerate into mere popular lectures.

The demand for University Extension Courses proper will probably be confined to the towns, but short pioneer lecture courses are the best means of arousing interest in educational work in the rural villages and many of the mining centres, where no such work has been done in the past.

(d) The provision of facilities for extra-mural students who desire to pass on to higher intra-mural studies.

There is, at the present moment, a great dearth of opportunities of this kind. As the extra-mural work of the Department develops, the demand for such opportunities will increase, and it is hoped that the College, cooperating with Local Education Authorities and the various trade organisations will be in a position to meet the needs of working-class students capable of benefiting by a period of continuous training.

(e) Finally, the Department will act as a clearing house and centre of information for all who are engaged in adult education in the district. It will keep lists of approved lecturers and tutors, with particulars of their special subjects and qualifications; a register of all voluntary organisations interested in adult education; records of all students who pass through preparatory and tutorial classes; and any other information which may be of value to the work.

Organisation.

In formulating a scheme for the organisation of the Department, the following points had to be considered:—

(a) University Tutorial Classes are every where administered by University Joint Committees composed of equal numbers of academic representatives and representatives of working class organisations. This has been proved to be the most suitable type of organisation for the work. The Joint Committee of this College has been in existence since 1913, and has been responsible for the administration of University Tutorial and one-year classes in the East Midland area since that time. It was considered that the status, constitution, and essential functions of this Committee should not be disturbed.

(b) At the same time it seemed necessary that the Joint Committee should be linked up with a wider, more elastic organisation, which could bring in representatives of all the Local Education Authorities in the area and representatives of all important voluntary organisations interested in the work of adult education. This would lead to the development of new branches of extra-mural education, and to greater co-ordination.

Committees of the Department.

(a) The college will appoint a nucleus of nine College representatives (including the Professor of Education and the Director of the Department) to act on constituent Committees of the Department.

(b) The Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes will consist, as at present, of these academic representatives, and an equal number of workers' representatives.

(c) A new Committee, called the University Extension Committee, will be set up, to consist of—

(i) 9 College representatives as above, together with representatives of other academic institutions as under:—

- * 1 nominated by the organising Committee of University College,
Leicester.
- * 1 " " Leicester Technical College.
- 1 " " Loughborough Technical College.

* This arrangement is temporary and will be reconsidered when the University College is established.

1 nominated by the Derby Technical College.

1 " " Lincoln Technical College.

1 " " Midland Agricultural College.

(1 nominated by any other similar Institution, which may from time to time be approved, in any of the six counties comprised in the East Midland Area.)

(ii) 1 nominated by each of the L. E. As. concerned in the work of the Department.

(iii) Representatives of voluntary organisations as follows :—

2 nominated by the W. E. A. District Council.

2 " " Adult School Unions of Nottingham and Leicester.

1 " " National Co-operative Union.

1 " " Women's Institutes.

1 " " Y. M. C. A.

1 " " Council of the E. M. E. U.

1 " " Vaughan College, Leicester.

1 " " Each recognised University Extension Local Committee.

(1 each nominated by any other organisation which may from time to time be approved.)

(d) These two Committees in Joint Session will form a Standing Departmental Committee for Extra-mural Adult Education, with the addition of the following members *ex-officio* if not otherwise included :—

The Chairman of Council,

The Principal,

The Vice-Principal.

(N. B.—Apart from the Joint Committee, no attempt has been made to secure proportional representation. Where more than one representative has been asked for, this has been due solely to territorial considerations. The aim has been co-ordination, rather than to give weight to any particular body.)

Functions.

(a) Standing Departmental Committee.

The Committee shall be empowered to raise and receive funds; to allocate funds other than those earmarked for the work of the Joint Committee or the Extension Committee; to make recommendations to the College Authorities, the Joint Committee and the Extension Committee; to receive and discuss reports from the two constituent Committees; and generally to deal with all matters affecting the internal administrative work of the Department.

(b) Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes.

The Joint Committee shall be the supervising authority for Tutorial Classes, Preparatory Classes, and Summer Courses for students of such classes, and shall appoint and pay the fees of Tutors, receiving for that purpose :—

(a) Any sums definitely allocated to the Department for Tutorial Class Work.

- (b) Fees from the local centres organising the classes.
- (c) Such other sums as may from time to time be allocated to Tutorial Class work by the Standing Departmental Committee.
- (c) University Extension Committee.

The Extension Committee shall deal with extra-mural activities other than those supervised by the Joint Committee, including :—

- (a) Single lectures of a pioneer character ;
- (b) Short course of lectures ;
- (c) University Extension lectures followed by class work ;
- (d) Student groups ;
- (e) Summer courses other than those for Tutorial-class students.

It shall receive for that purpose :—

- (i) Any sums definitely allocated to the Department for Extension work ;
- (ii) Fees from the local centres organising the Courses ;
- (iii) Such other sums as may from time to time be allocated to Extension work by the Standing Departmental Committee. •

5. Conclusion.

It is hoped that the establishment of the new Department will lead to a wide extension of liberal education for adults in the East Midland area, and that the appointment of a strong and representative Departmental Committee will secure mutual help and co-operation between voluntary organisations on the one hand, and the Colleges and Local Education authorities on the other, thus preventing overlapping and waste of effort.

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MEMORANDUM

TO: THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

FROM: THE CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF MILITARY AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: [Illegible]

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